

MALTA
AND THE
MEDITERRANEAN RACE

R.N. BRADLEY



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VIEW IN THE MNAIDRA, SHOWING PIT MARKINGS, DOLMEN, RECESS, TABLE, AND PILLAR.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

Frontispiece.

MALTA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE

BY

R. N. BRADLEY

WITH A MAP AND 54 ILLUSTRATIONS

T. FISHER UNWIN
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
LEIPSIC: INSELSTRASSE 20

1912

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TO THE
GENIAL AND LEARNED
PROFESSOR THEM. ZAMMIT, C.M.G., M.D.
CURATOR OF
THE VALLETTA MUSEUM

284099

PREFACE

THIS book is the outcome of two years' work, accomplished in the short intervals allowed by official duty, on a subject which might well absorb a lifetime. But Malta is a place of brief sojourn to such as are not native, and what is done must be done quickly. It is not that there are none in Malta who could tell the world things of great value, and it is they who should do what I have only attempted. But natural modesty seems to restrain them where I have rushed in. The valuable works on particular subjects by Professors Tagliaferro and Zammit are but an insufficient indication of the vast amount of local knowledge of vital interest possessed by such men.

Without the support of friends like these my task would have been impossible, but such help has been given me with a generosity seldom met with. In particular, Professor Zammit, Curator

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of the Valletta Museum, has placed at my disposal everything that could be of use, and has given me invaluable information on the local race question. He has also afforded me the advantage of his criticism, and I feel on so much safer ground in that he agrees with me in the main principles of this work. I am also indebted to him for the use of several photographs belonging to the museum—namely, those of the Hal Saflieni skulls, the Bahria pottery, the dolmen of Ta Cenc, and the cart-ruts of Gozo, and for permission to have several others taken.

I have to thank Professor Sergi, of Rome, for the use of some of his illustrations of skulls. My debts to Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School at Rome, Mr. T. Eric Peet, M.A., M. Roudanovsky, M.V.O., and the Rev. Abbé Sebhiani are acknowledged in the text.

For photographic work I am deeply indebted to Messrs. T. M. Salmond and T. D. le Rougetel and Miss Heugh ; I have to thank Dr. J. A. King for the picture of the girls of Imtahleb.

When I commenced the book my chief object, since, perhaps, rather obfuscated by other matter,

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was to portray the psychological characteristics of the pre-Aryans in Europe, with a view to offer at least a partial solution to the problem how a people so advanced as the Cretan discoveries show them to have been came to fall into insignificance at the onslaught of the less cultured Aryans. The difference in the psychology of the two peoples, traceable possibly to physical characteristics, seems to be largely accountable for this. I have endeavoured to compare the characters of the two races, and to indicate the physical reason for the difference. I have also tried to show that the annihilation of the pre-Aryans is by no means established in fact, and that the long-headed race has not only endured, but its influence has been, and is, felt in a remarkable manner. In spite of the prevalence of the Aryan language in Europe, I attempt, not without authority of weight, to establish a substratum of pre-Aryan speech. I may be judged to be on dangerous ground when I suggest that in the languages of our own islands there are traces not only of Hamitic but of Semitic speech ; the idea is so revolutionary that I cannot expect it at once to obtain easy

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or general acceptance, but I ask that it may be given a fair and unbiased hearing. Two years ago, if any one had seriously suggested to me that *ill* or *shackle* were Arabic words, I should have been inclined to throw him out of the window. I hope no one will do the same with my book for a like reason. To read these things in cold print, while surrounded by shelves full of frowning authorities, is perhaps not altogether conducive to their acceptance. When hearing such words in the daily talk of the Maltese, in a language as old as it is essentially exclusive, one gains conviction through the emotions rather than intellectually, and the idea becomes a living fact.

I have tried to make it clear that this Semitic language, spoken by the Maltese, and of which traces are found in Aryan speech, by no means argues a Semitic people, but that such a language was and is spoken by Hamites also. Whether it developed naturally out of Hamitic, arose from it by accidental modification, or superseded it, is not clear, but it is generally held that the two are ultimately the same.

On linguistic and several other grounds, I have

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argued a stream of migration from the East, along the path followed later by the Phœnicians, and in this, I believe, I am partially in agreement with MM. Siret, who have dealt with the prehistoric period in Spain. I have adduced evidence to show that such migrants still belonged to the Eurafrican or Mediterranean Race. It is probable that this wave of population in Malta, and perhaps elsewhere, followed an earlier one which came direct from Africa. Evidences of the two layers are not wanting in Malta.

I may be running counter to general opinion when I try to establish the comparative purity of the Maltese Race, but such is the conviction of certain local authorities who are most competent to speak on the subject. It is on this ground that I instance this people to illustrate certain characteristics of the pre-Aryans. Since my object is to show in what the latter failed and in what the Aryans succeeded, I naturally have to harp upon the worse rather than the better characteristics of the Maltese; this I do with regret, for their qualities, passed over in silence, are numerous.

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The work deals not only with the Mediterranean Race but with Malta, and accordingly the earlier chapters are devoted to a sketch of the prehistoric monuments of the island and their relationships with those of the Eurafrican peoples. If the account of the actual monuments and objects is meagre, it is because they are not the real subject of the book.

Finally, I may say that the work is largely based on Professor Sergi's theories, which are now used as the basis of much archæological work.

R. N. B.

MALTA,
June, 1912.

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THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE

MALTA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE

CHAPTER I

THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE

BEFORE proceeding to show the relationship between the Maltese, ancient and modern, and the Mediterranean Race, it will be well to clear the ground by demonstrating what is meant by the last expression. Most of us learnt in our school days that we were Aryans, like most European peoples, and that our original home was somewhere in Asia, probably in the regions of the Pamir. It is difficult to cut adrift from ideas instilled into us in our childhood, and moreover, the whole of our knowledge, ethnic and linguistic, is tempered by this particular dogma. If we can no longer believe in this, what about all the

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laws of the Aryan languages, our well-founded derivations, the origins of our mythology? What becomes of the rooted idea that all light, culture, and progress comes from the East, and that all ethnic migrations proceed from the East Westwards? The last argument has already been severely handled by various authorities, but it is still made use of, and was advanced to me recently as a solemn principle by a serious student of history.

The fact is that the glamour of Max Müller has blinded us for years to the true state of ethnic facts. All honour to this great man, who has inaugurated the comparative study of languages and rendered it interesting as a fairy tale! But it must be remembered that language is only one datum in ethnic subjects, and needs to be corroborated by others of a surer kind. The study of linguistics is a great help in anthropology, but if it exceeds the functions of checking and eking out more scientific data, it may become more of a hindrance than a help.

By the aid of linguistics alone a future anthropologist, studying the negroes of America,

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might set them down as an Anglo-Saxon people, or South American Indians as Spaniards. A language is such an artificial, even such an ephemeral, matter that it cannot be regarded as a reliable criterion in questions of race. I would rather run the risk of labouring this over-laboured question than leave the least doubt outstanding on the matter. Repetition is also necessary owing to the close bearing of this principle upon the subject of the present work.

Referring again to our school days, we were accustomed to hear dark hints, arising possibly from some uneasiness in purely classic minds, that underneath the culture of ancient Greece there lay a large substratum of an earlier civilisation, showing occasionally through the upper layer. After a long reign throughout the Middle Ages, the philosophers Plato and Aristotle, and the historian of the aristocracy, Thucydides, were made to tremble a little for their supremacy, and an ear was lent to the genial, observant, open-minded traveller Herodotus, long distrusted as prone to fable and gossip. Just as the influence of the Schoolmen waned before the practical inductive methods of Bacon, so has

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classic insularity and aloofness been mitigated by a better study of this thoroughly human historian. He did not sit at Athens and work out his theories by discussion with philosophers, nor rely on the records of Greece herself, but set boldly forth into the world to see things as they were, describe them as they appeared to him, and record the lore of all folk he came into contact with, in regard to their origin and customs, with his charming simplicity. In consequence, Herodotus has become one of the great names in modern ethnic research, in that he was a naïve recorder of personal experiences, and, strange to say, most of the fabulous gossip which caused him to be regarded as untrustworthy has proved either to be solid truth or on the path to it. In dealing with the ancient races of the Mediterranean we have often to quote Herodotus, and it is only with due consideration that we can afford to run counter to his statements or opinions. One of the strong supports of the Mediterranean Race theory is his account of the Pelasgians, Carians, Libyans, and other races.

This vague feeling that there was something

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great and mysterious underlying classic history has developed into a most important tangible truth with the great discoveries in Crete in the last few years, and now, thanks to the exact anatomical methods of Professor Sergi, the existence of a great pre-Grecian race, occupying the whole basin of the Mediterranean, and, indeed, a far wider field, possessed of a high degree of culture, has been placed beyond the region of doubt for those who will only study the recent developments of modern research in that direction.

The Aryan theory, in its old form, is hard of dying in England. In a notice of Signor Mosso's last work, I was greatly surprised to observe that the writer was rudely criticising the book in complete ignorance of Sergi's investigations, a procedure comparable to judging a biological treatise without a knowledge of Darwin. Sergi is happily becoming better known in England every day. His theories are certainly, somewhat startling to those who are rigidly attached to the older ideas, but I may say, as regards myself that, coming to Malta with a perfectly open mind, I found that all the data I met

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with, archæological and ethnic, fell in perfectly with his scheme.

Broadly speaking, his theory of the Mediterranean Race is as follows: Leaving out of the question the most ancient palæolithic inhabitants of Europe, this continent was peopled in neolithic times by a long-headed (dolichocephalic) folk who to this day form the substratum of the population. The old Stone Age man belongs to the river-drift, and to conditions, climatic and other, which set him apart. Neolithic man is associated with the Long Barrow, with pottery of a definite class, flint and stone implements of an advanced type, and with dolmens, menhirs, round towers, and particular forms of tombs. Whence did this man come? All indications point to an African origin, and, whereas relationship can still be traced between this early population and the peoples now stretching from the Canaries to Somaliland, so the common ancestral home of the race has been placed, though there is no unanimity as to the exact locality, at the head-waters of the Nile, or at least somewhere south of the Sahara. This people is supposed to have crossed over into

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Europe by various points—Gibraltar, Malta, and Sicily, the Greek islands, and Asia Minor—and spread over the whole continent as far as our own islands and Scandinavia. Strange to say, it is in these lands remote from the origin that some of the best indications of the race are to be found. This is owing to circumstances which will appear later.

This people is recognised by its particular marks, and of these the most permanent and distinctive is the shape of the skull, the feature of the human body least susceptible of change. If I may venture a personal opinion, the reason for this appears to be because there must necessarily be a permanent relation between the shape of the skull and that of the pelvis. For, in the absence of surgical aid, a child with a skull abnormally shaped with reference to the pelvis of the mother could only with difficulty be born.

The importance of the skull in determining race problems has long been recognised, and all kinds of measurements have been in vogue. The most important factor in these is the cephalic index, which is, roughly speaking, the figure

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showing the relation of the maximum breadth of the skull to the maximum length. The length is taken as 100, and the index is the proportionate breadth. The figure is arrived at thus—

$$\frac{\text{breadth} \times 100}{\text{length}}.$$

Skulls have been classified with reference to this index, the following scale (Broca's) being the most generally recognised: 75 and under, dolichocephalic (long-headed); between 75 and 77·7, sub-dolichocephalic (moderately long-headed); 77·7–80, mesocephalic (medium-headed); 80–83·3, sub-brachycephalic (moderately short); 83·3 and over, brachycephalic (short-headed). These figures are of considerable use as a general guide, but in questions of race determination of a complex order they and others far more intricate and detailed have proved to be of only subordinate utility. As applied to a people, the cephalic index may work out at, say, 79, and yet the result may be totally misleading, as there may be two separate elements in the population, one long-headed and another short. Furthermore, Sergi has declared

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his dissatisfaction with the index, in that, applied, for instance, to a very angular skull, the result may work out at a mesocephalic or sub-brachycephalic figure, whereas other features might place it in a category of long-heads.

In fact, in regard to European, indeed with most peoples, we have, practically speaking, to deal finally with two main types of skull—the long and the short. As has been said, the skull is one of the most permanent of race characteristics, and it is surprising how easily in a mixed race long and short-headed elements may often be distinguished.

Sergi throws over the cephalic index altogether, and, regarding the skulls from above (*norma verticalis*), finds that they generally resolve themselves into certain definite classes dependent on shape of outline. With reference to our part of the globe, there exist the following principal varieties :—

I. *Long.*

1. Ellipsoid.
2. Ovoid.
3. Pentagonoid.
4. Beloid (spear-shaped).

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II. *Short.*

1. Sphenoid (wedge-shaped).
2. Platycephalic.
3. Spheroid.
4. Cuboid.

See Figs. 1 to 7.

One may be inclined to carp at this system and suggest that it works well on paper and in illustrations, but question how it operates in practice. During the last year I have examined numerous skulls in Malta, prehistoric, mediæval, and modern, with no other guide than Sergi's classification, and have experienced no practical difficulty in dealing with a single one of them.

The varieties under I. are all related, and we find them associated with a single race. The same may be said of Class II. Those of the first category are distinct as they are widespread, and are prevalent for both ancient and modern times throughout the north of Africa and the whole of Europe as far as Scandinavia, where some of the best specimens have been found. They belong, in fact, to the Mediterranean Race, to that neolithic folk we are all so

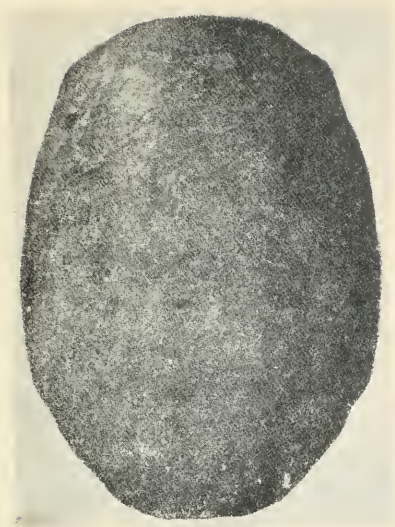


FIG. 1. Ellipsoid.

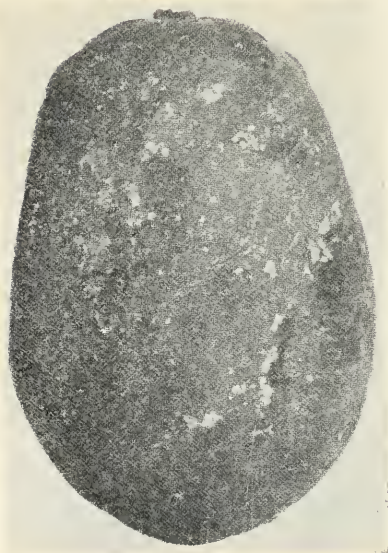


FIG. 2. Ovoid.

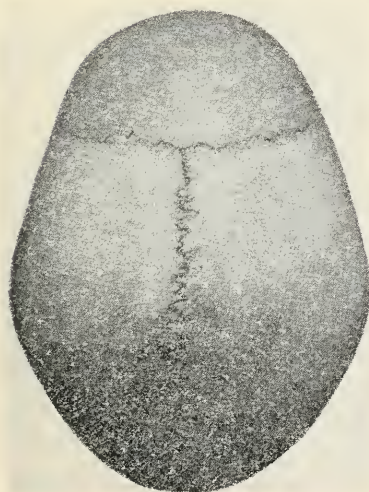


FIG. 3. Pentagonoid.



FIG. 4. Beloid.

EURAFRICAN SKULLS (AFTER SERGI).

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familiar with, who now prove to be a Hamitic people, distantly related to many of the black peoples of Africa, probably very fairly represented to-day by the light-skinned Berbers, comprising in ancient times the early Egyptians, migrating to Europe, through Spain as the Iberians, appearing in Sicily and Italy as the Ligurians, working their way through Egypt and the Greek Islands, perhaps through Asia Minor, to ancient Greece as the Pelasgians. These are the folk who underlay classic civilisation. The empires of Greece and Rome have disappeared, together with their culture, but have left this old population practically where they stood before. Dr. Reid, in his "Principles of Heredity," has suggested that the astonishing phenomenon of the absolute decay of this culture on the advent of the barbarians is to be explained on the Environment Theory. The civilisation was due to environment, and, when the latter was taken away, mere heredity by itself could only produce elementary uncultured man again. There is much in this view; but may there not be some force in the argument that the culture was largely Aryan and aristo-

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cratic, and that it fell with the particular Aryan aristocracy with which it was associated?

Sergi's theory is not only based on scientific fact, but is corroborated by all that mass of lore and fable which forms a background to Greek and Latin literature. It is further strengthened by the discoveries in Crete, and we can now account for the hitherto mysterious Pelasgians and Leleges and Carians and the maritime empire of Minos on the Mediterranean Race assumption, while systematic excavation has revealed the very palace and throne of that fabled prince and discovered the prototypes of Greek architecture in the Cretan mansions. So, too, can we account for the assertions of Herodotus and others as to the African or Libyan origin of Heracles, Neptune, and a whole family of gods and goddesses. These things, darkly suspected hitherto, are now emerging into the clearness of day.

The short skulls of Class II. begin to be noticeable in Europe towards the end of the neolithic period, and their appearance is contemporaneous with the introduction of bronze into general use. In our own country they are associated with

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the Round Barrows. These skulls belonged to the Aryans, over whom so many lances have been broken. As to where they originated, it is outside the scope of this work to examine, but it is now clear that they were neither so numerous nor so civilised as has hitherto been supposed. Their place of origin has long been held to be in the region to the north-east of Persia, but on not unimpeachable grounds. Canon Taylor, in his "Origin of the Aryans," favours a Lithuanian centre of dispersal, adducing many arguments, chiefly linguistic. He is also inclined to connect them with the brachycephalic Ugrian race, the Finns, to which also belong the Tatars and most North Asiatic peoples. In this last view I am inclined to agree. Skull classification can generally be fined down to the two species, long and short, and it is highly probable that the short-headed invaders of Europe belonged to the Turanian family. The question has been much discussed as to the path by which they came. If we are to accept the Finnic hypothesis, a northern entrance would suggest itself. Sergi maintains the Asiatic origin of the Aryans, and considers their path to have

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been partly northern, and partly southern by way of the islands of the Mediterranean. The most probable conclusions appear to be that the brachycephals originated in Asia, that they were allied to the Ugrian races, and that their main entrance to Europe was effected by land. The diffusion of the Aryans in Europe is quite another matter, and it is highly probable that this took place from somewhere in the locality suggested by Canon Taylor.



FIG. 5. Sphenoid.

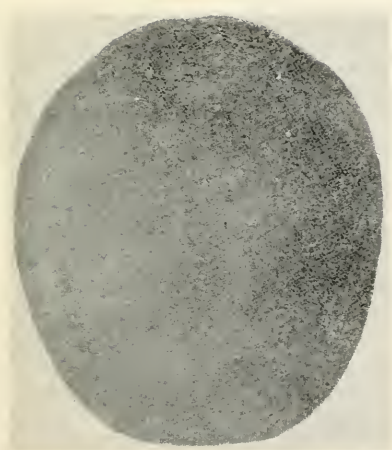


FIG. 6. Platycephalic (Orbicular).

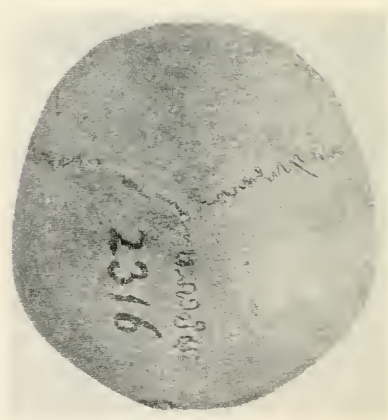


FIG. 7. Spheroid.

EURASIAN SKULLS (AFTER SERGI).

PREHISTORIC MALTA

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC MALTA

MALTA has been mentioned as situated on one of the routes traversed by the Eurafricans in their transit to Europe, and the question naturally arises as to what remains they have left on the island. These are numerous and interesting, but, unfortunately, too little known. The English colony have in the past taken little serious interest in such things, as may be well understood when it is remembered that they comprise little beyond the garrison of the place; by the Maltese, too, the monuments have been until recently somewhat neglected, and such of the older local descriptions as exist are often unscientific and inaccurate. Fortunately, a new spirit is breathing upon the ancient sites, and this is largely due to the sympathetic efforts of the present Curator of the Valletta Museum, Professor Zammit, and also to the interest taken in

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the subject by his Excellency the present Governor and several other of the higher officials ; and, very fortunately, the British School of Rome is now taking Malta under its wing. Dr. Ashby, the Director, confers a great boon by his visits to the island, and Mr. T. E. Peet, author of "The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy," renders great service by his expert examination of pottery and objects.

The works of Caruana are marred by the prevalence of the fixed idea, not totally devoid of truth, perhaps, but quite inadequate for modern requirements, that the Maltese people and their monuments are of Phœnician origin. It is only in the somewhat brief works of the German archæologist Professor Albert Mayr that anything like a fair and representative account is given. His "Die Insel Malta in Alterthum" gives an excellent general sketch of the antiquities, showing their relationship with those of surrounding countries, but does not enter greatly into detail. An earlier work, however, by this author, "Die Vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta," which has been translated into English by H.R.H. Princess Louis of Battenberg, and

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issued for private circulation only, is fuller and more detailed, and remains at present the classic work on the subject, so far as it goes ; but here, again, African relationships are not sufficiently dealt with. It would be a boon to archæology if a general review of the prehistoric antiquities were published, with careful illustrations, in a form that could be accessible to everybody, Caruana's works on the subject being now out of date.

Excellent service is being rendered at present by Professors Tagliaferro and Zammit, the former having produced an elegant work on the pottery of Hal Saflieni ; and the latter has described the hypogeum of that name in a report which is amplified as excavations proceed. Perhaps when this vitally important monument has been cleared it will be time enough to give a complete review of the relics of the island, for until that is done we must necessarily be in the dark as to the true ends and purposes of this underground temple or habitation, whichever it be, a circumstance which must cause us to suspend judgment upon the monuments generally.

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The known prehistoric monuments of Malta fall into the following categories:—

Caves.

Hypæthral sanctuaries.

Hypogæa, or underground structures.

Rock tombs.

Dolmens.

Megalithic towers.

Megalithic walls.

Megalithic villages.

Menhirs, or single upright stones.

Hypæthral Sanctuaries.—It may be well to commence with these, as they are the best known and the most obvious. The three chief are Hagiar Kim and the Mnaidra, situated in the south-west of Malta, on a barren plateau overlooking the sea, and the Gigantia of Gozo. For a detailed description of these interesting buildings I must refer the reader to the works of Mayr. It will suffice for my purpose to give a general description, and to indicate such relationships as exist with relics of other lands and peoples.

The general formation of these structures is

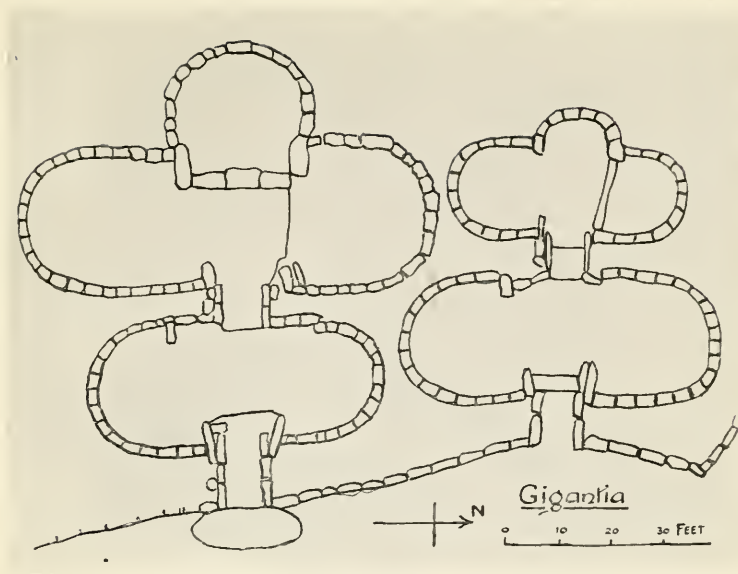


FIG. 8. PLAN OF THE GIGANTIA.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 9. HAGIAR KIM. A HUGE BLOCK.

(Photo, Miss Hough.)

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best illustrated by a reference to the plan of the Gigantia (see Fig. 8). The essential feature consists in two ellipsoidal chambers situated one behind the other, and connected with the front of the building and each other by dolmenic passages. At the back of the inner ellipse and opposite the passages is a semicircular niche. This scheme is generally duplicated, so that the systems stand side by side and open by parallel entrances into the frontal wall. The whole is, or was, surrounded by a wall of megalithic boulders, some of them being of enormous size, and reminding us of Stonehenge. The spaces between this and the internal walls bounding the chambers are filled with rubble. Usually each system is comprised in a rough semicircle, but the line forming the common chord, along the frontal wall, is not straight, but a concave curve. At the Gigantia there are indications that this curve was continued beyond the limits of the building in the form of a wall, which probably marked off an area in front of the sanctuary for ceremonial purposes. The internal walls are for the most part composed of vertical slabs, placed edge to edge, upon which rest horizontal

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courses, a favourite method of building in those times (see Fig. 12).

Such, in brief, is the general idea of the sanctuaries, but in the Mnaidra and Hagiar Kim, apparently somewhat later structures than the Gigantia, the old plan was modified by newer conceptions grafted upon it. Consequently we find much that is the same as in the Gigantia, but at certain points unrelated chambers, openings, and entrances are found, as if different generations in turn added to the structure according to their own needs or fancies, and without much reference to the original plan, just as if a new people appended to an old cathedral a chapel here and a chapel there and a series of cloisters in another place, without reference to the primal architecture or artistic unity.

Of the numerous striking features of the sanctuaries the most noticeable is, perhaps, the great size of most of the stones, which show little or no signs of shaping in many cases, the dolmenic style of passages (Figs. 10 and 11), curious window-openings connecting the main chambers with inner niches and recesses ; table-like struc-



FIG. 10. DOLMENIC PASSAGES AND STRING-HOLES, GIGANTIA.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 11. MNAIDRA. DOLMENIC PASSAGES.

(Photo, Miss Heugh.)

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tures and pigeon-hole devices, box-like structures often the home of some sacred cone or waisted pillar (Frontispiece). Stones placed in important positions are decorated with a characteristic pit-marking (Frontispiece), and others within the chambers are ornamented with carved spirals and conical devices. An altar from Hagiar Kim, now in the Valletta Museum, is decorated with a kind of palm-tree growing from a basket-like vessel (see Fig. 36). A large block still lying in the Gigantia preserves the figure of an eel-like fish. Other curious objects are stone tables carved in a single piece of rock and having their tops hollowed out, apparently for the purpose of holding liquid. Excavations have brought to light specimens of pottery, skulls, figures in stone and terra-cotta, which are now preserved in the Museum at Valletta. An important point with regard to the inner walls of the sanctuaries is that they are corbelled (see Fig. 12)—that is, the upper courses converge slightly inwards, showing a tendency to dome-structure.

Hypogæa.—The only monument of importance in this category, but perhaps the most significant of all, is the Hypogeum of Hal Saflieni at Paula,

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near the head of the Grand Harbour. It has been excellently described, with illustrations, by Professor Zammit in his First Report. The plan is irregular, and the various chambers appear to have been hollowed out in an arbitrary fashion. Some of them are rough and unfinished, but others are tastefully decorated with an arboreal design in red paint, especially as regards the ceilings. We have the same niches as in the sanctuaries and the same dolmen entrances (see Fig. 13), the effects produced being both weird and graceful. The portals are hewn for the most part out of the living rock, which has been chipped into shape at the expense of enormous labour, and the more ornamental portions of the work show no signs of cutting or hammering. The workmanship of such parts is unequalled for care and finish. A curious feature is the corbelling of the roof (see Fig. 14) towards the ceiling in certain of the chambers, a characteristic paralleled at Hagiar Kim and the Mnaidra.

The hypogeum is of considerable extent and contains two stories, the lower having been used apparently for storage purposes, as it contains



FIG. 12. MNAIDRA. CORBELLING, COURSES, AND WINDOW-OPENINGS.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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numerous bin-like structures. At the side of the stairs leading from the upper to the lower story there are evidences which point to a curtain having been erected to disguise the Holy of Holies from the general eye. This latter is the very kernel of the place, and contains the most perfect workmanship (see Fig. 14).

In this brief sketch it is impossible to do anything like justice to this important monument, and I would refer the reader to Professor Zammit's Report for further details. It remains, however, to say something of the contents of the hypogeum. Its discovery dates from 1902, and much preliminary clearing had to be done to get rid of the rubbish which enterprising builders had dumped into it, and the water which had percolated from the street and cisterns constructed in and around it. Beneath the sludge and rubbish, however, was discovered a red soil of fairly uniform depth, which is still in course of excavation. Under the direction of Professor Zammit, I have had the privilege of doing a little of this work, and propose to give a short account of it in a later chapter. The main portions of the place had, however, been cleared

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before my time, and most of the important finds belong to the earlier period of the work.

These include steatopygous and squatting figures (see Fig. 15), carved and moulded, similar to those of the sanctuaries, numerous stone objects, conical and egg-shaped, flint and stone implements, and beautifully finished axe-shaped ornaments and amulets (see Fig. 26), which are the pride of the Museum. The objects have been recently described by Mr. Peet in the Second Report on Hal Saflieni. The pottery is of the same kind as most of that belonging to the prehistoric period in Malta, but here it was found in very great abundance, and in such a state of preservation as to render reconstruction of vases and utensils a practicable task. I was able to excavate one small dish quite entire from the soil and bones—not so easy a task as it might appear, as the objects are so numerous that it is difficult to loosen one without destroying several. For details of the Hal Saflieni collection, Professor Tagliaferro's pamphlet will be found an interesting guide.

The chief remains, however, are bones, mainly human, of which the soil is practically full.

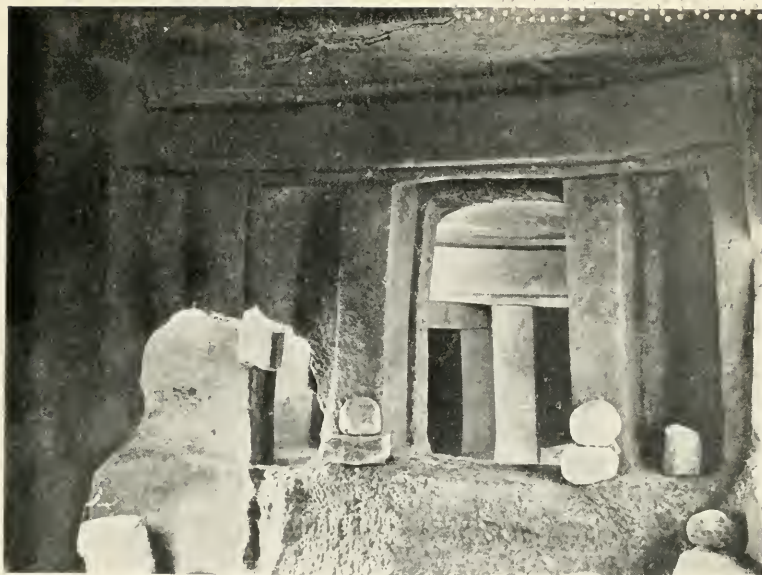


FIG. 13. HAL SAFLIENI. DOLMENIC STRUCTURE AND NICHES.
(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 14. HAL SAFLIENI. KERNEL OF STRUCTURE, SHOWING
CORBELLED ROOF.
(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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Whatever may have been the original intention of the place—and this is shrouded in mystery—there can be little doubt that in later times it was used as a cemetery. So thick do the bones lie that there is no possibility of entire bodies having been laid there, and the only reasonable solution is that the bones were buried in a dismembered condition, the flesh having been removed. So great are the numbers that the remains look almost like those of an entire population, but this problem is left for later consideration.

Only one complete skeleton was found—that of a male adult—and this lies on its right side in a somewhat contracted position. That this is due to a somewhat later burial is shown by the fact that it lies in the red earth among the scattered bones ; no flints or vases were found near it. The skeleton is left lying in position as it was discovered.

Caves.—Natural and partly artificial caves are continually being discovered, showing such signs of human habitation as pottery, implements, and bones. The important Ghar Dalam cavern was only partially investigated by Cooke, and may yet yield treasures of great value, including relics

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of the earliest inhabitants of Malta. So far it is geologically important, but has afforded little assistance to the archæologist. The earliest remains of man there appear above the bones of the bear and the hippopotamus, but contemporaneous with those of the deer (*Cervus barbarus*). The pottery is rough and indefinite, and might belong to any early period, but a part appears to be prehistoric and a part Punic. In a recent investigation of the cavern, however, I was surprised to observe features which have never apparently been published—namely, several holes bored at the entrance as if to hold poles and curtains, and also, beside the path down to the well below the opening of the cavern, several holes apparently bored into the rock and out again, forming loops. These peculiarities are worthy of further study; but even to the casual observer they suggest a relationship with the sanctuaries, which possess the same contrivances, and lead one to suppose that the cave was inhabited about the same time as Hagiar Kim was frequented.

In addition to large caves of this description, which occur in various parts of the island and



FIG. 15. STEATOPYGOUS FIGURINES OF HAL SAFLIENI ($\frac{1}{2}$).

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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are undergoing investigation, there are also others of less extent and importance which also bear traces of human habitation; and I may mention one in particular, which I recently visited, situated at the back of the Gigantia. I found the soil of the floor to be composed largely of organic matter, and was shown numerous pieces of pottery, of the same kind as that found at Hal Saflieni, which had been found therein.

Of paramount importance is the discovery by Professor Tagliaferro, in 1910-11, of the ossiferous caves of Bur Meghez (pronounced *Māhz*), near Mkabba, between Valletta and Hagiar Kim. Malta is full of rock fissures, many of them running parallel to the great fault of Malak, and probably caused by the same agencies as the fault itself. The site in course of excavation by Professor Tagliaferro is a particularly striking example of one of these fissures, which came to light in the cutting of a quarry. The fissures are often extended by the action of the rains, and are rich in geological and ossiferous remains, sometimes washed in by the water but sometimes still remaining in their original positions. In this

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case the presence of animal bones, chiefly of the stag (*Cervus elephus*), an animal common in Malta in neolithic times, was evident at an early stage, and this fact drew Professor Tagliaferro's attention to the spot. Curiously enough the name of the place means, ordinarily, "The Waste Place of Goats," but *Meghez* has a somewhat wider meaning, for, according to Richardson, it comprehends the goat species, and Hava's dictionary gives the meaning as "bucks and goats"; so I think we need have no hesitation in supposing it to have been called after the wild stags which frequented the region, and whose remains were found in the cave. This name is of the utmost importance in the language question, and I shall have occasion to refer to it later.

When human remains were found among the other bones, Professor Tagliaferro's interest was naturally intensified, and he commenced those valuable investigations, often under most difficult and trying conditions, of which he has given a preliminary account in "Man" (October, 1911).

The fissure was at first found to be about

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two metres deep, and was almost full of loose red earth, a fact reminiscent of Hal Saflieni, and this contained a conglomerate of broken bones and small water-worn pebbles. The conglomerate, however, showed little signs of disturbance. The contained pebbles were of soft Malta stone, but the presence of larger unhewn blocks was of greater importance. When these were lifted they were found to have been superposed upon corpses, no less than thirty-five skulls being found, mostly beneath them. The slabs and pebbles seem to have been used to prop up and roof over the bodies, but the entrance of water seems to have caused settlement which resulted in the sinking of the blocks and the crushing of the skeletons. The burial arrangement, however, is comparable with the tomb-tables of the sanctuaries, and is interesting in connection with the origin of the dolmen. As I propose to show later, the evolution of the dolmen could be traced in Malta in all its stages were it necessary to do so.

The corpses were laid horizontally on the left side, facing east, and in several cases the position was crouching. Some of the bodies had in early

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times been removed for fresh burials, a circumstance for which a parallel will be found in the scattered human bones of Santa Verna in the proximity of the complete skeletons.

As at Hal Saflieni, pottery was found scattered irregularly through the soil, and specimens of scale, fluted, incised, and cut-out ware, were present. It corresponds broadly to that of Hagiar Kim, Mnajdra, Hal Saflieni, and Cordin. An interesting problem arises. Such a burying-place is probably very ancient relatively to other neolithic sites, yet the same kind of pottery is found as at Santa Verna, referred to later, which seems to extend into a comparatively late period. Either, then, people used caves for dwellings and burial-places, the sanctuaries, and hypæthral dwellings such as Santa Verna almost contemporaneously, or else the styles of pottery were stereotyped for centuries. The probability seems in favour of the latter view, but possibly the alternative should not be pressed, and both positions may be maintained to some extent.

Flint was rare, but a broken knife was found. The discovery of four perforated marine shells—namely, two buttons and two in the shape of

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almonds—assigns a definite neolithic date to the burials.

Professor Tagliaferro thought that he detected smells in the pebbles found in the cave, that of putrefied flesh being very noticeable. The Malta stone is very porous, and may have peculiar properties in this way. Whether or not this circumstance may be urged in favour of the view that *scarnitura*, or removal of the flesh, had been practised, there seems no real need to suppose that this rite had been observed, as these would be in all probability primary burials. Secondary interments are evidenced at Hal Saflieni.

Rock Tombs.—The rock tombs of Malta have been famous from an early date, and have been described by Abela, Ciantar, Houel, and, more recently, by Caruana. A more critical, but somewhat brief, account is given by Mayr. They are very numerous and their shapes are various, the usual feature being a vertical shaft, the descent of which is often made by steps, leading into lateral chambers, generally provided with niches and often closed by a slab. Others are built absolutely on the square plan, being either

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mere recesses in the rock (see Fig. 16) or chambered structures with a vertical shaft. They are in the main associated with Phœnician pottery and modes of burial. For myself, however, I am not convinced that they all belong to the Phœnician period, and hold that a steady evolution can be traced from the grave with a central chamber, connected with lateral niches or smaller chambers by means of dolmenic window-openings, the whole being constructed on a dome-like and curvilinear principle, to the square, pigeon-holed structures which we have come to associate with Greek and Roman times. Mayr, seeing Ægean and Mycenæan influences at work in the Malta Stone Age, would, as regards the sanctuaries at least, trace the development the other way, and say that the square was the original and that the ellipse and dome were the result of this external influence. This view is open to dispute, and I hope to discuss the subject more fully at a later stage.

Besides this type there are other hollows which may have been tombs or may have been something else. They are well or bottle-shaped, having a narrow entrance widening out into a



FIG. 16. ROCK TOMBS OF BINGEMMA.

(Photo T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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fairly spacious chamber. These are often found in clusters, sometimes intercommunicating, sometimes separate ; the best examples are to be seen below Borg en Nadur, near Birzebbugia, and on Imtarfa Hill, although isolated ones are discovered almost whenever excavation work is carried on in the island. They have been illustrated and described by Caruana, and Mayr has given an account of them, but is not altogether sure as to their purpose, whether they were the bases of huts or used as storehouses or as tombs.* When the narrow entrance is observed and the circular shape, it is difficult to suppose that their original intention was that of graves, and I would be much more inclined to the opinion that their purpose was not so much a foundation for a dwelling as a dwelling itself, and for those days dwelling and tomb are almost synonymous ; when the owner died he was probably buried in his house.

Most important for our knowledge of the ways and customs of the neolithic inhabitants of

* At a recent visit to the Salisbury Museum I saw a model of exactly similar structures discovered at Highfield, in the neighbourhood.

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Malta is the discovery in 1910 of a genuinely prehistoric well-tomb between Attard and Citta Vecchia. This was cut into by workmen who were laying pipes in the road, and the curator of the museum was called to examine it. The tomb was bell-shaped, beginning in a straight, oblong shaft and widening towards the bottom. Its depth was one metre and length a metre and a half. The contents were human bones mixed with pottery, as at Hal Saflieni, that near the top being Punic. The lower bones, however, were mixed with deep red pigment, iron ochre, and the pottery, at this level genuinely prehistoric, was also stained with red; part of it was Bahria ware. Professor Zammit communicated the discovery to the *Times* of December 13, 1910. Its significance lies in the fact that this tomb, together with Bur Meghez and Hal Saflieni, are the only sites where undoubted prehistoric burials have been found in Malta.

Dolmens.—The dolmenic character of the sanctuaries and of the hypogeum has already been referred to, and it suffices to say that up and down the island dolmens are constantly come



FIG. 17. DOLMEN AT TA CENC, GOZO.
(Photo, Valletta Museum.)

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upon, often having been utilised by the peasants for the purpose of making shelters. At times a portion of the country strikes the eye immediately as bearing megalithic traces, and there one may find the remains of a dolmen, and quantities of unhewn or roughly shaped stones lying in all directions may attest the presence of an earlier village or sanctuary.

Notable dolmens exist at Musta and Siggieui in Malta, and at Ta Cene in Gozo (see Fig. 17). The Valletta Museum possesses numerous photographs of these structures.

Megalithic Towers and Walls.—In such localities, often bare, rugged, and stony, one may trace the remains of an ancient boundary wall, forming, with its massive blocks, the basis of a modern structure; and here and there about the island are to be seen towers of architecture partly or mainly prehistoric. At Borg en Nadur, near Birzebbugia, in the south of Malta, there is a collection of walls and hypæthral structures only partially excavated, which leads one to suppose that some sort of walled stronghold existed there, perhaps accompanied by a tower, dwellings, and a temple. The

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various towers have been described by Mayr, and their probable use was for places of refuge, a relation probably subsisting between them and the Nuraghs and Talayots of Sardinia and the Balearics, and the Round Towers of Ireland. A recent examination of one of the isolated towers of Malta by Dr. Ashby failed to produce any satisfactory evidence of neolithic habitation, a fact which may be accounted for by their constant use by more modern peoples.

Villages.—These are not the least important of the prehistoric remains, and though in some cases the sites can only be presumed, in one instance, at least, the actual habitations have been excavated and laid open to view. This is at Corradino or Cordin, quite near to Hal Saflieni, and above the Grand Harbour extension ; we must suppose that it was intimately connected with the hypogeum. The excavation of this important site was carried out largely under the supervision of Dr. Ashby ; the work is still proceeding and an interesting report may soon be expected. The architecture bears a striking resemblance to that of the sanctuaries, upright slabs being used for walls, and we

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observe the same curious window-openings, the same dolmenic portals, and traces of pit-markings. The pottery, of which some excellent examples have been found, is of the same general character as the other neolithic specimens of the island.

The recent excavation of the dwelling site, It-torri ta Santa Verna, near Kaccia or Xaghra, in Gozo, will be described later.

Menhirs.—These are the usual concomitants of dolmens, and two clear specimens still remain in Gozo, at Kala and Kaccia, while the existence of others in times past is recorded by historians and travellers. They are probably, here as elsewhere, connected with ancestor-worship.

TORRI TA SANTA VERNA

CHAPTER III

TORRI TA SANTA VERNA

By the courtesy of Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School of Rome, and the Malta Museum Department, which financed the work, I am enabled to give a general account of a somewhat important excavation carried out in Gozo, the sister island of Malta, in June, 1911. The official record appears in the Papers of the British School of Rome, vol. vi. (1912). Dr. Ashby commenced the work, but, owing to illness, was unfortunately unable to proceed, and the interesting work came under my personal supervision.

Although Father Magri mentions the *Torri*, it seems to be somewhat doubtful whether he had this actual site in his mind. The whole hill on which the Gigantia and the village of Xaghra stand seems to abound in neolithic material, and there are several stone circles and heaps nearer to the village which may have been intended

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by the learned father. The fixing of the exact site is due to Mr. Nicola Said, of the Public Works Department, who was able to trace it from an old family document, full of wonderful theories about the origin of the neighbouring villagers, which accidentally came into his possession.

In a work dealing mainly with race relationships, it is hoped that the description of a neolithic excavation may not be out of place, and I will therefore omit all unnecessary detail and confine myself as much as possible to what concerns the customs and ways of living of the people we are studying. It is thought that a record of personal observation of this kind may add some vitality to the views and theories laid down in the other chapters.

In the centre of the island of Gozo there rises one of those many flat-topped eminences suggestive of the Karroo, and probably owing their characteristic shape to similar geological circumstances. To the right of the road which runs from the port to the capital, it rises in sheer precipitousness, and on its side, just below the crowning village of Xaghra, or Kaccia, are per-

Torri Ta Santa Verna

ceived, even from this distance, the megalithic walls of the Gigantia. The carrozzin-man, on his way to this village, whips his tired beast up the zigzag road, hoping for a rest at this famous monument, and is by no means pleased by the further steep climb to the summit. To Santa Verna we must pursue our way straight through Kaccia to the barren field beyond. Here, before digging commenced, stood a mound whence projected three megalithic blocks set upright, edge to edge, in slightly concave formation, the whole being, for the main part, buried in masses of loose stones. The prospect hence is one of the finest that can be obtained in the islands; on three sides the deep blue of the Mediterranean breaks the monotony of the yellow and the grey. It can scarcely be by accident that the conical hill of Merzuk, now surmounted by a statue of our Lord, lies exactly due north of the site, in the line of Marsa il Forni. Most beautiful and reminiscent of all that is poetic in the Isles of Greece is the view towards Malta itself, rising in precipitous yellow cliff, village-capped, from the indenting blue. Surely neolithic man had no little æsthetic sense, especially for

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seascapes. In Malta he was essentially a seaman, and emblems of the fish, and painted shells, real and stone-carved, are characteristic of the present site.

The work was of no easy character in the tropical heat, the moving of the many tons of loose stones being almost the first essential. The first trench near the three upright stones had revealed a little pottery and later a *torba*, or pounded limestone, floor, which had to be followed into the mound. Soon three room floors were laid bare upon a platform which jutted out into the sloping field, but, the edges of these being laid bare, the remarkable fact came to light that there were other floors underneath them. When the whole surface was cleared there appeared to be five rooms in all, or better, four rooms and a rubbish area, all with *torba* floors in varying states of preservation. The walls between the rooms were raised upon the foundations of an earlier megalithic structure, to which the three great stones belonged. There were hearths in all these areas, and one of the rooms was almost entirely filled by one. These fireplaces yielded great quantities of animal



FIG. 18. SKELETON OF CHILD, SANTA VERNA.
(The skull has been filled with plaster of Paris.)

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 19. MALE SKELETON, SANTA VERNA.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

Torri Ta Santa Verna

bones, pig, goat, and ox, and quantities of pottery and ornaments. The rubbish-heap, however, proved to be the most interesting spot of all; the presence in it of disjointed human bones was evident at an early stage, and soon several little heaps were found, apparently rudely walled in and accompanied by rough stone amulets such as are found at Hal Saflieni. No single heap represented a complete body, and it must be supposed, if we set aside the possibility of cannibalism, that there is evidence here of that rude secondary burial after *scarnitura* which characterises the Hypogeum. In this primitive cemetery of the rubbish-heap the bodies were not all disjointed, for soon the skeleton of a child was laid bare (Fig. 18), exactly one metre in length, lying on its back, with feet pointing due east, the head propped up, the arms folded on the breast, and the left foot bent under the right. Although the skull was almost on the field surface, there can be little doubt of the antiquity of the skeleton, for it was partially walled in, and near it was a lump of that red earth used so much in neolithic burials. Beneath this body lies another, laid parallel with it, and both were left undisturbed.

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More elaborately interred was a noble specimen of humanity (Fig. 19) lying with his feet towards the child's head, but at a little greater depth. Although he lies upon the second floor, he appears to belong to the last period of the dwelling. The length of the skeleton is 5 ft. 9 in., and every bone and tooth was found entire and *in situ*. It lies perfectly flat on the back, except that the feet are tilted a little towards the left, resting against the rubbish-heap, which had been dug into for his interment. The arms are folded across the breast, a small stone supported the chin, and others lay upon the chest. Along with the body were buried rough stone amulets and an oyster-shell carved in stone. This man was of a noble type; he must have stood six feet high, his skull is massive and shapely, the jaws and teeth are even and regular, and the limbs powerful. According to Sergi's classification, the skull is a beloid, but as a thorough examination would have necessitated a partial destruction of this interesting structure, this is reserved for a better occasion. The whole cemetery seems to have been rudely walled in with low blocks of stone, and in places a double wall was found,



FIG. 20. SANTA VERNA—TRENCH SHOWING THREE
SUCCESSIVE FLOORS.

(Photo, J. O. Laing, Esq.)

To face p. 73.

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the inner one being formed of ragged crystalline limestone, whence, perhaps, are descended the little walls of crystalline rock which are sometimes seen round modern graves.

Finally a trench was driven through the whole structure, revealing the existence of three successive floors (Fig. 20). Two inches below the highest torba is a second, divided from it by compressed earth. Below this are loose cobblestones for two feet, and then follows a smooth compact floor of black earth and limestone fragments. This was the floor of the original megalithic building, and is contemporaneous with a cobble pavement which stretches out from the building into the field to a distance of nearly fifty feet. Between the last floor and bed-rock are nine inches of loose stones and ten inches of fine red earth.

Although we appear to be in the presence of four successive periods, namely, those represented beneath each floor, and the one above the highest, it is possible, but by no means certain, from the persistence of certain types of pottery, that no very great space of time is involved; the highest torba is probably a mere

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reflooring and levelling-up of the one beneath, but the period that could have elapsed since the date of the megalithic building is a matter of considerable doubt. The raising of the level, however, was doubtless due to a desire to extend the site, and, as the field surface is sloping, this could only be done by cutting into the higher ground of the field or levelling up the floor of the building. The latter was probably easy owing to the presence of the megalithic walls and abundance of material.

The pottery, on the whole, is of the same kind as that found at Corradino, Hal Saflieni, and the sanctuaries, and described and illustrated for the second-named site in Professor Tagliaferro's work referred to elsewhere. There are exceptions, however, for, generally, the range of pottery in this site is greater than that of Hal Saflieni, and most important is the finding at all levels of painted ware, with broad, straight red lines on a buff slip. Moreover, and especially in the great hearth at the highest level, the polished incised ware is carried to a degree of artistic excellence and technical skill which seems to be unmatched elsewhere in the islands. There

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are what appear to be special Gozo decorations, the toothed line, and line and dot, such as were found by Father Magri at Xeuchia. The scale and scallop unslipped ware was found in great abundance at all levels, as well as studded and plain polished varieties; also fragments of Bahria ware, both plain and ornamented. The pottery will be best described, however, in another chapter. Yet one curious point deserves mention: one fragment of polished black pottery has the figure of a fish incised upon it, in a manner resembling a maker's mark. Other curious designs are hanging fruits, as in the decoration of the Hal Saflieni ceiling, and something which resembles nothing so much as a comet.

The tools and implements included a stone pestle and mortar, a soft stone hammer, and numerous scrapers, knives (Fig. 21), and saws of flint and chert of remarkably fine shapes and workmanship. Flint and chert fragments were innumerable, but they pale in significance beside the discovery of a greater quantity of obsidian, both in well-shaped knives and fragmentary, than has perhaps been found in the whole of the

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Maltese islands. Its origin appears to be the Ægean, probably Melos, and we have, therefore, a most important link established with the Eastern civilisations, coupled with a most significant negative fact, that even at the latest period there is not the slightest indication of copper. If the obsidian were imported direct, it is rather curious that no extraneous objects or pottery are found along with it. There are little or no evidences of external commerce in neolithic Malta, and these few tools may, perhaps, be regarded as a precious heritage.

Bone tools were also found, two very fine awls, one, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, being discovered on or near the field surface. Several stones, which may have been used as hammer or anvil stones for preparing flints, and others for heating and culinary purposes, are among the finds.

Ornaments and toys bear "Mediterranean" relationships, and show a feeling for the sea: a little terra-cotta cone; a spiral shell in the same material; a cone in soft stone with longitudinal grooves, resembling a fossil sea-urchin (Fig. 21); a fossil oyster-shell and the teeth of an extinct shark; a pebble partially rubbed



FIG. 21. OBJECTS FROM SANTA VERNA. CHERT KNIFE, FRAGMENT OF
OBSIDIAN KNIFE, SHELL ORNAMENT, ROCKING FEMALE FIGURE, (?) IDOL,
AND GROOVED CONE, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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into an amulet ; a small image of a lady with a wide petticoat, the outlines of which are carved, standing on a rocking base, the whole in polished stone (Fig. 21) ; a tiny stone bird, whose head is painted red ; a bracelet formed from a large limpet-shell by cutting off the top (Fig. 21) ; a finger-shaped object in soft stone, with a rim carved round the base, perhaps representing the outline of a skirt, and what may be a nose cut out at the top (see Fig. 21). This has an Egyptian appearance, and may be an idol. The bracelet or ornament formed by sawing off the top of a limpet-shell in Fig. 21 is similar to those from the south-east of Spain to be seen in the British Museum. Through the kindness of Professor Smith Woodward, of the British Museum, to whom the bones of the site were sent for examination, I am able to give some description of them. Apart from those which are human—and these are somewhat mixed with the others, especially near the cemetery—they are practically all those of domestic animals, which must have been used for food. They include those of the sheep, goat, pig, and of a very large ox. There is one humerus of a swan and one

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of a large cat, probably a caffer cat, very similar to a bone found in the caves of Gibraltar.

A large boar's tusk was found in the trench above the lowest floor. Bones of swans have been found in great numbers by Professor Tagliaferro in rock fissures similar to those of Bur Meghez.

In the minds of the people this place, like all prehistoric sites, has preserved a traditional veneration. They still call it the Tower of Saint Venus, their orthodoxy compromising with their deep-rooted pagan traditions. The name suggests a shrine or temple, and this, indeed, it may have been before it was used as a dwelling—perhaps, in the megalithic days, a kind of Hagiar Kim. Behind the veil of Venus, however, we cannot fail to recognise the face of the older Astarte, and, farther back, the Mother-Goddess of the Mediterranean Race. In this connection I may mention that when in Brittany I was told by an American archæologist of a wood where an ancient stone image, supposed to be of Isis, is still venerated by the people. A similar compromise is made here, and the figure is supposed, in a superficial manner, to represent the Virgin.

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I learned that there had been great battles over this idol between priests and people throughout the centuries, but I regret that time did not permit of further investigation. Moreover, the subject did not interest me then as it would now.

EXCAVATIONS AT HAL SAFLIENI

CHAPTER IV

EXCAVATIONS AT HAL SAFLIENI

THE surroundings of Hal Saffieni are very different from those of Santa Verna. Instead of a wind-swept hill commanding views of corn and cotton-field, windmill, village, and sea, we have now before us a narrow, crowded, and somewhat dirty street in one of the poorer casals which supply labour for the Grand Harbour. We cannot rid ourselves of the atmosphere of the docks and the grog-shops, and altogether this is the last spot on God's earth upon which we should expect the archæologist's divining-rod to point to priceless treasure. It is as if the remains of a Stonehenge were discovered in a back-yard of Harrow Road. But Malta has become crowded largely in virtue of extraneous influences and the thrusting upon her of trade and traffic through her position in the Empire, and we are constantly reminded of this mushroom

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growth of industrialism and civilisation upon the foundations of primitive culture. Scarcely can a drain be laid without some cave or burial-place with its treasure being unearthed, and I remember, when we were passing through the village of Xaghra on our way to Santa Verna, a woman bringing us several perfect prehistoric jars, one of them filled with the red paint, in powdered form, with which skeletons were smeared in neolithic times, which her husband had dug up in his tiny garden. Similarly when the road was taken up for drainage purposes in front of the Hal Saffieni hypogeum there was laid bare what appeared to be the original entrance to the monument, running right across the street.

It was here that I had the privilege to excavate, under the direction of Professor Zammit, Curator of the Museum, during the autumn of 1910 and the spring of 1911. My work was confined to practically one room, called provisionally after the house above C 29, together with its entrance from the original passage of approach. The roof is vaulted, and of unequal height, and looks as if here and there parts

Excavations at Hal Saflieni

had fallen. This cannot have been, in any case, one of the most finished parts of the structure; for though the roof, here only a few feet high, was artificially propped up in prehistoric times by a large, hard stone slab wedged into position on the right-hand side of the entrance, on the left the rock is hardly smoothed, while round the corner to the right the low roof runs down and away indefinitely with the soil of the cave reaching to within a few inches of it. What further mysteries may be hidden here only time can show.

In this site there is no healthy, straightforward spade-work, but, crouched up in a damp and stuffy atmosphere, the excavator has to remove the soil inch by inch with a sharp steel implement by the aid of lamp or candle-light. While the numerous bones were carefully cleared that they might be taken out entire, and the other objects, strewn thick through the soil, laid on one side, up above the workmen dried and sifted the excavated soil in order to extract the beads and finer objects.

Particular watch was kept for any complete skeleton which might be lying in the soil simi-

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larly to the one already discovered, but, except that occasionally an arm with fingers, a complete foot, or several vertebræ might be found lying *in situ*, the bones were found on the whole to be scattered in confusion through the soil, often mingled with those of animals. The finding of an isolated arm-bone in an upright position, of unrelated bones, and even implements, in the middle of skulls, seemed to confirm the idea of a sudden filling up of the cave rather than gradual burial; while the secondary burial theory is corroborated by the discovery of vertebræ joined together, but having lost their spinous processes.

It was the practice when indications of a skull were discovered to carefully clear the top and fill it with plaster of Paris. But, although many were found, both adult and juvenile, they were so friable from the former presence of water in the hypogeum as to be incapable of preservation.

Running up from about six inches above the floor of the room a small structure of stones was laid bare, and the hardness of the soil near its base and the presence of some ashes

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near led to the suspicion of a very temporary hearth and floor, the former possibly for the use of the workers.

Several flint and chert implements were found, mostly knives and scrapers, also one very fine and effective flint borer and a stone one. A few shaped, roughly oblong stones about nine inches in length, pointed at one end and with a sharp, straight edge at the other, proved very effective in loosening and moving the soil, and were probably trowels.

Ornaments were numerous, and included amulets of polished pebble or bone, usually bored ; a pendant in alabaster which resembled more than anything a pig, but highly conventionalised ; small shells, generally in quantities together and suggestive of money ; and teeth, both human and animal. It was observed that the pendants were usually found near skulls, and were often broken, possibly on purpose.

Two clay human images of about an inch in height, the one fairly well shaped, headless, with the arms folded across the breast, steatopygous, and with the legs broken off ; the other, very rude and somewhat doubtful, were found close

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together near the entrance at a depth of two inches.

The objects found in the sifting were mainly shell beads, some minute, others from half an inch to an inch in length, and several conical buttons of the same material, usually bored in the base.

Quite near the entrance, and within two inches of the surface, the following were found close together: thirty-seven small spiral shells and a few larger ones, the two clay images already referred to, two trowels, many teeth, rough stone amulets, some in the shape of trowels, carved and bored bones, animal bones, charred wood, and pottery. Can it be that here we have a mass of rude funeral furniture—the remains of offerings, money, and implements for the dead person to dig himself out with, or to use in his labours in another world?

In the unrelated red earth the numerous fragments of soft stone discovered arouse curiosity, especially as they follow certain very definite shapes. Their length is from two to six inches, and they show no signs of working. Some of the larger may have been tools for light wear, but

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most of them, if anything at all, must be of a votive character, and it is not at all unlikely that this simple people picked up any stone which bore some resemblance to a thing they knew, and treasured it just as children do to-day. These stones are usually flat, and fall into the following classes as regards shape: shell, pentagon, triangle, auger, borer, spear-head, and double-axe. Only one each of the last were found, and the specimens were close together. Others bore a distant resemblance to a female figure and to the terra-cotta animal figurines found elsewhere in the hypogeum. Stone knives and implements in harder material were probably for actual use.

Nothing very unusual was found in the way of pottery except that a complete black bowl, unornamented, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 3 inches deep, was unearthed from a position immediately beneath two skulls. This plain black slip-ware was very common in the chamber.

The depth of soil in this room varied from 1 ft. 8 in. to 2 ft. 6 in., but fined off towards the entrance.

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Such is the bare outline of the excavation. The bearings and relationships of certain of the objects and other matters of general interest are dealt with in other chapters.

USES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE
MONUMENTS



CHAPTER V

USES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MONUMENTS

THE nature and ways of living of the people who erected these monuments is still a matter of mystery, and, for the most part, only guesses can be hazarded about them. The discovery of Hal Saflieni has, however, shed a considerable light on the question, and it is probably destined to shed more. Since the pottery found mingled with the bones in the hypogeum can be assigned to the date of the sanctuaries, and since the making of the hypogeum must be long anterior to the completion of the burials, it follows that the underground structure was the earlier type. It has been suggested that the corbelling of Hagiar Kim and the Mnaidra show a step in the evolution towards the dome and the false arch, and this is highly probable, but I think it may now be safely said that it harks back to

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the corbelling of Hal Saffieni, where, curiously enough, it is quite artificial and unnecessary, and was apparently adopted merely as an ornamental variation to the curve of the ceiling. If it be not the case that corbelling and the origin of the false arch originated in this accidental manner—and I am inclined to prefer this solution—we may suppose as an alternative that, the North African origin of this culture having now been almost universally adopted, the prototype of the rock-hewn hypogeum was an underground dwelling hollowed in the sand or soft earth and needing some sort of stone or wooden superstructure to keep the overlying material from falling in.

Like considerations would apply to the dolmen structure which is also seen at Hal Saffieni, both carved out of the living rock and placed in entrances in the form of jambs and transom for the apparent purpose of narrowing the doorway. A cave to have much utility must be spacious within, but its entrance must be narrow. In the process of hollowing out, however, the entrance would become misshapen, irregular, and wide, circumstances militating against the comfort, utility, and artistic sense of the occupants,

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as well as rendering it impossible for any kind of door or curtain to be properly inserted. Hence we find that the doorways of the hypogeum are narrowed by the insertion of dolmenic slabs, and the idea is carried traditionally into the hypæthral structures. The origin of the dolmen is therefore probably the shaping and narrowing of the irregular mouth of a cave, and the same kind of reasoning applies also to the isolated, table-like dolmen so common from Syria to France. In Italy it is often found covered with soil, and if the explanation be not that this form with the large covering slab is an extension of the idea of the dolmen entrance, with its superposed soil giving the semblance of a cave in the days when cave-dwelling had ceased, we may suppose that somewhat the same causes may have been originally at work as have been suspected with regard to the corbelling, and that it was necessary in original caves to have a large slab supported by uprights to form a partial roof to the dwelling to prevent the falling in of sand. But the simplest explanation appears to be that the dolmen is the traditional relic of the cave, and that, the dolmen entrance once having been devised, the idea of supporting a large slab

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on uprights would easily follow. In support of these ideas I may mention that Mr. Peet in "Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy" observes that at Monte Racello certain graves are made artificially of slabs, in imitation of caverns cut in the live rock. It is also of importance that these are provided with window-openings.

It has been suggested that these window-openings, so characteristic of the Maltese monuments, served as means of communication between the spirit of the departed and the worshippers without. With other indications of ancestor-worship in view, we must regard this as the probable intention, but as regards the origin, I would be inclined to the idea that they are, in many instances, atrophied doorways, being reduced in size owing to their merely ceremonial utility; as I have said before, the distinction between house and tomb was not very clear in the earlier times. In corroboration, I would instance the well-structures at St. George's, near Borg en Nadur, with their extremely narrow openings, and also the Talayots of Sardinia, and similar structures in Puglia and Cleanto with their diminutive entrances. That is, there was a

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tendency to make the doorway as small as possible, and the window is not a long step from this.

These windows or diminutive doorways form a link connecting the Maltese structures with the neolithic remains of most of the other countries we have under view—the Giants' Tombs of Sardinia, the graves of Italy and Sicily, and even the Long Barrows of England—nor can the bored dolmens of ancient Italy and France be unrelated. We have it on record that the Sardinians as well as the ancient Libyans practised incubation; that is, as part of their system of worship, they used to sleep in the neighbourhood of the tombs in order to come under the influence of the spirit of the dead buried there. It is more than probable that the same practice was observed in Malta, and the communication was intended to take place by means of these openings, the worshippers remaining in the precincts within the tomb.*

The relations with North Africa are numerous and close, the usual characteristic of the burial-

* Recently at a church near Hagiar Kim, locked up and not generally used, I saw country-women praying through window-openings looking upon the altar.

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places in this locality being the dolmenic burial-chamber with a surrounding wall and a menhir set up to the dead on or near the grave. At Sigus in Algeria is a cemetery, evidently once used as a sanctuary, consisting of a slab supported by pillars; and near Enfida in Tunis is a table surrounded by an enclosure. At Ellez in Tunis the burial-chambers are situated one on each side of a corridor and one in front, and they are enclosed by a wall of upright stones, characteristics reminiscent of the Maltese scheme of the sanctuaries. In these parts, however, there is the tendency to the square plan, which I am unable to regard as the older as Mayr does, and also to a further development at certain places in the construction of the boundary wall; the continuous wall of uprights is replaced in at least one instance by a scheme of uprights and transoms as is seen at Stonehenge, and herein we may suspect a relationship with our own famous monument. Both these features, occurring in a continental area, are more likely to be due to evolution and external influence than to be original, and in this case as in many others the insularity of Malta has caused the older forms to be preserved.

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Semicircular forecourts and enclosing walls are a feature of the Sardinian tombs and burial-places, where baetyllic pillars and conical stones also bear witness to a relationship with Malta. The Long Barrows of England, situated one behind the other, with their funnel-shaped entrances, attest a still further but less intimate connection with the scheme of Hagiar Kim.

The completed dome structure is to be found in the Cretan burial-places, provided in many cases with the baetyllic pillar, the home of the deity or spirit, and it is probable that the beehive tombs of Mycenæan Greece have their origins in the Cretan prototype. The tomb of Minos is a vaulted underground chamber, with a *stele* set above it, and the structure is comparable with the monument of New Grange in Ireland. I may also mention a circular-paved piazza, discovered near Cannatello in Sicily, and described by Peet, which is connected with a sanctuary in which stands a table; and here were found earthenware horns, showing the existence of a worship similar to that practised at Hal Saflieni, where horns were found in a cavity cut out of the rock floor in front of the shrine.

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It is not my purpose to deal exhaustively with the numerous parallels existing between Malta and the Mediterranean countries ; these can be studied at greater length in the works of Peet, Mayr, and Mosso.

One important feature must be mentioned, however, connecting Malta, Sicily, Crete, and Ancient Egypt, and that is the secondary burial of human bones after the removal of the flesh. This is extremely common in the Sicilian tombs, and, as has been said, is characteristic of the Hal Saflieni burials. The same practice is observable in the ossuary of Palaikastro in Crete.

Much speculation has taken place with regard to the Hal Saflieni burials without much definite result. Great difficulties arise from considerations such as the enormous quantities of the bones, their being buried along with personal ornaments, and also the fact that fragments of pottery in one part of the hypogeum belong to others in distant parts. Was the process of burial gradual? Are the interments the result of a wholesale slaughter? And was the hypogeum originally intended for a cemetery? These and hosts of similar questions arise.

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If the burials were gradual at first, it seems to follow from the relationship of fragments of pottery at great distances from each other in the soil that the later burials took place at practically one and the same time; and other arguments have been mentioned in connection with the excavation. From the general scheme and appearance of the place, its ornamental and religious character, it would be judged that it was not originally intended as a cemetery, although a few interments might naturally have taken place in it on the supposition of the existence of ancestor-worship. No great dividing line, it must also be remembered, marked off the living from the dead, and the functions of a building for the purposes of dwelling, worship, and burial have only become specialised and separated in comparatively recent times. An examination of this and other of the older monuments of Malta leads to the supposition that the first inhabitants belonged to the troglodytes, or cave-dwellers, known to the Ancients. These people were supposed to dwell all along the African coast of the Mediterranean, and remnants of them are found in North Africa and Malta at

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the present day. Is it for nothing that Malta was long famed for the cavernous dwelling of Calypso? And though her cave is still shown at Gozo, its appearance is not particularly convincing. A far more fitting place for the reception of Ulysses would have been the underground palace of Hal Saflieni, and, without going so far as to suggest that this was the abode of the divine witch, it may yet perhaps be regarded as typical of the dwelling of a chief among the people, combining the functions, not only of ruler but also of high priest, or better, priestess, and presiding over the mysteries connected with ancestor-worship prevailing among this folk. In one or more of the niches in the main chamber the relics of departed chiefs may have been preserved. And, just as Mosso observed with regard to the Italian dolmens that not only the structure itself, but also the anterior *dromos* had been used for burials, so we may suppose that at Hal Saflieni the burials continued until they occupied parts of the building not originally intended for the purpose.

As to the filling up of the hypogeum, it can only be supposed that some sudden change or

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upheaval took place, but the fact that the amulets still remain with the bodies argues that the action taken was not of an impious nature. If we are to adopt the theory of a secondary burial, an original burial elsewhere must be postulated, and this is not hard to imagine, as the custom of re-burial prevails to this day, not only in Malta but in other southern countries. The red soil of the hypogeum is from the fields, and possibly much of it comes from a distance, whereas part of the pottery is the unique ware associated with Bahria on the north-west coast and with that place only. From the numbers of bodies it would appear that at some time many graves throughout the island were emptied of their contents, and that these were re-interred at Hal Saflieni. But where are these contemporary graves? A partial answer is given in the recent discovery by Professor Zammit of the well-tomb near Attard, already referred to. It will be remembered that this contained Phœnician pottery on the top, but that the lower burials were undoubtedly prehistoric. This is the first discovery of a tomb containing genuinely prehistoric burials in Malta, and it considerably

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widens our horizon. Of course this instance by itself is no answer to the question, but it shows that contemporaneous graves of small dimensions did exist, and, moreover, the discovery of Bur Meghez shows that interments were made in caves at roughly the same period. The solution of the problem I should myself be inclined to find in the view that many of the so-called Punic tombs are not so recent as has hitherto been supposed, and that those of domed, vaulted, and elliptical forms were possibly contemporaneous with the hypogeum. Some of these are mentioned by Mayr as being special and probably older than the others, and I may mention one in particular which I saw near Borg en Nadur, entirely dome-shaped, and with a curved resting-place for the body situated on a shelf of rock provided with a lip. And perhaps the well-shaped concavities, hitherto supposed to have been the foundations of huts, were also used as prehistoric burial-places, and were afterwards emptied of their contents to serve for more utilitarian objects. The main idea on which I base these suggestions is that man's earliest habitation was a cave, at first natural,

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later on excavated, and that the easiest way to excavate is in the curved and spherical form, anything like corners and uprights and square chambers being naturally a later development. That is why I am unable to agree with Mayr's view that the earlier tendency was to the square, and that the ellipse in Malta was an *Ægean* innovation. Mayr wrote before the excavation of Hal Saflieni, and possibly an examination of this monument would cause a modification in his views.

These graves and other shelters fitted for various uses may have been emptied by an invading people, or perhaps by the same people pressed by altered circumstances and economic conditions, but it would appear that those who did the work were a related and like-thinking people. In treating of the race question I shall suggest the possibility that such an invasion or immigration may have taken place, and that it was by a people probably related to the original inhabitants. It may be, on the other hand, that the burials in the hypogeum are connected with the neighbouring village of Corradino, or Cordin, and that Hal Saflieni, with the growth of this settlement, became the cemetery of the place ;

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but the quantity of the bones rather suggests a population than a village. But wherever the bones originally came from it seems clear that they were first buried somewhere else.

The hypogeum gives the key to the elliptical shape of the apses of the sanctuaries and to the niches thereof. The plan of the sanctuaries was not square, because the parent was the underground habitation, and that, for reasons already given, was not formed on the rectangular plan. In fact, the sanctuaries are Hal Saflieni repeated above-ground, but with rather more system and method in the original plan.

The worship of the dead being granted, we must suppose that rites were performed in the underground dwelling close to the niche in which the remains of the departed lay, and, according to the usual tendency in religious matters, the form would gradually tend to predominate over the spirit, so that when the worship was carried above-ground, the chamber would be venerated, although no body remained within it, and, in the course of evolution, the slab with its supporting pillar received the adoration, instead of the whole chamber; the slab dwindled in course of time,

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and the pillar itself became the important object, and came to be regarded as the baetyl in which the presence of the deity was located. The evolution is, therefore, from burial-chamber to table, from table to pillar. This accounts for the square pigeon-hole niches of the Gigantia and the tables of Hagiar Kim, and, in all the sanctuaries, the pillar domiciled in the recess. The recent finding of small stone models of carved pillars in various sanctuaries, shaped exactly like the larger ones, corroborates this view of the evolutionary process.

The duplication of the interior of the sanctuaries is possibly explainable on the hypothesis that the worship and mystic rites of men and women were kept apart. Or perhaps a deity had now come to be worshipped instead of the personal ancestors, and the deity found in later times a rival. The earlier would probably be a female goddess, an Earth Mother typical of fecundity, who afterwards became both Cybele and Ashtoreth, or Aphrodite. The appearance of the God of Strength and Power, the Sun God, would be later. But, from the objects found, the former explanation is at least possible, if it

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cannot be pressed, and, as one of the systems of chambers is more elaborate than the other, it may well be imagined that the female part of the population took precedence, for in these days mother-right had not yet been supplanted by patriarchy. Evidence is abundant that the Mediterranean Race was matriarchal, whether we turn to Herodotus's account of the Licians, Mosso's descriptions and illustrations of ancient Crete, or the records of the Welsh and Irish monuments in the pages of "The Welsh People."

Although in the neighbourhood of the sanctuaries there are remains of hypæthral dwellings, we cannot assert, having regard to the cave in the vicinity of the Gigantia, and the borings at the entrance of the Ghar Dalam cavern, and the finding of the pottery and bones in rock-fissures, that cave-dwelling had altogether ceased at this period; but it may be supposed that living above-ground was coming into vogue at the time the sanctuaries were frequented, and the village of Cordin was probably coeval with them. At this period the original purposes of Hal Saflieni, "the low-lying village," may have been forgotten or misunderstood, and so it may have

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been used as a burial-ground for the population. The later tombs, and many of those which I do not consider late, have pottery and furniture of the bright-red kind, called Phœnician, but, as I have suggested, this cannot in all cases be regarded as marking the age of the tombs, but is often evidence of a second use of an old grave by a people with a somewhat different culture, just as it was in the Attard tomb.

With the objects found in the monuments I propose to deal in the next chapter, but it remains to say something of the decorations. Before doing so, however, a point in connection with the ritual arrangements deserves special notice with reference to Professor Ridgeway's latest work, "The Origin of Tragedy." The author seeks an earlier birth for dramatic art than the Dionysiac orgies, and holds that in its earliest phases it had to do with the propitiation of the ghost of a dead hero, services and rites performed in the vicinity of his tomb in order that he might be induced to look with favour on the flocks and herds and the crops of his devotees. Such a view is corroborated by the customs of primitive peoples, and especially the

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beliefs of the Kafirs. If in the classic architecture of Greece there is little trace of such an evolution, the idea fits in exactly with the scheme of the Maltese sanctuaries. Here is the abode of hero-worship; the hero's tomb and cenotaph are still visible; there is the window of communication, the ceremonial paraphernalia, and, most important, the large, circular forecourt before the building, in which a numerous congregation could gather for worship. It is possible that the Greek theatre itself developed from a similar sanctuary and forecourt; as regards general shape the parallel leaves little to be desired.

Of the decorations, perhaps the most striking is the painted ceiling of Hal Saflieni (see Fig. 22). The design, executed in red ochre, represents a series of tree-trunks whence spring spiral branches bearing large round fruits. The chief interest lies in the early use of the spiral, which is not confined to the hypogeum alone. In one of the chambers is a chess-board pattern, almost effaced, which is curious in its likeness to a Cretan design shown in Mosso's "Ancient Palaces of Crete," in his illustration of a fresco

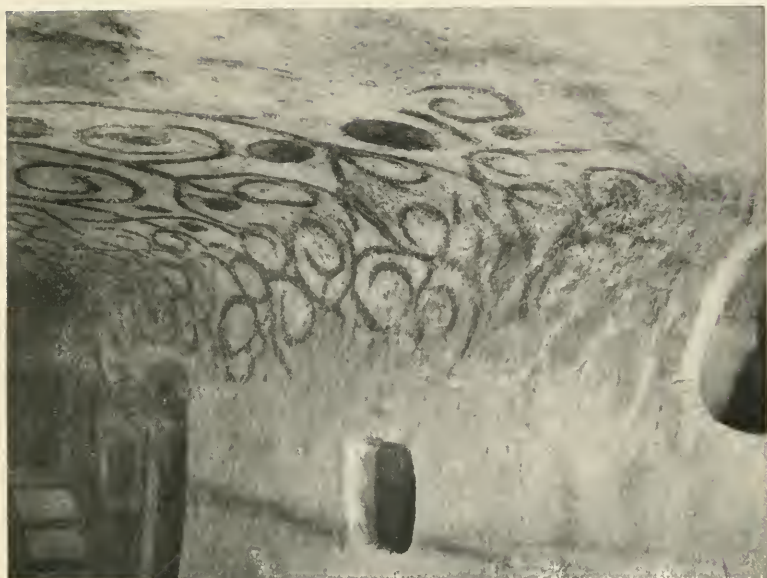


FIG. 22. HAL SAFLIENI. PAINTED CEILING.

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 23. ALTAR SLAB FROM HAGIAR KIM, SHOWING SPIRALS, CONE, AND PIT MARKINGS, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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at Knossos, representing pillar-worship. The parallel is suggestive, having regard to the religious character of the two examples. From other illustrations in Mosso's work, it appears that the design was a favourite one for the petticoats of Cretan ladies, or was probably associated with a religious garb. I hope it is not going too far to suggest that here we may have the origin of the Celtic plaid, and also perhaps the present predilection of the Maltese for plaids and checks in their clothing (see Fig. 50) is not unconnected. It is proposed to show at a later stage that much that we regard as Celtic is really more the property of the Mediterranean Race, whom the Celts invaded and mingled with; and remnants of the early culture are preserved to this day in the remoter parts of our own islands and in Brittany, whither the Celts were driven in their turn by a stronger invader. It is also part of my purpose to show that the Maltese are a purer race than has hitherto been supposed, and, in spite of the language difficulty, may be one of the most characteristic representatives of Europe's early population.

The spiral is also found in the decorations of

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Hagiar Kim (Fig. 23) and the Gigantia, being carved in stone ; and, moreover, it is associated with the cone, this being inserted between two spirals, the whole standing in low relief. Although the relations subsisting between Malta and Sicily in the artistic sense are somewhat scanty for this period, yet there is one remarkable instance of similarity, namely, the famous slabs of Castelluccio, formerly used for closing a grave. An illustration of one of these is given in Sergi's "Mediterranean Race," and it will be observed that the decorations comprise not only the spirals but the cones inserted between them. Although Mayr adduces the spiral in Malta as an instance of Ægean influence, there appears to be no reason to insist on so late an importation ; in fact, its appearance at Hal Saflieni argues a very early development, and Mr. Peet in a recent paper (Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. v., 1910) has declared against the Ægean theory. The spiral was a favourite design in Minoan Crete, and there it appears associated with the nautilus shell, and this, indeed, may have been its origin in that island. Judging from Hal Saflieni, however, the



FIG. 24. OBJECTS FROM HAL SAFLIENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM ($\frac{5}{7}$).

(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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origin in Malta would seem to have been in the leaf of a palm-like tree, but if I may venture a personal opinion, it appears from the association of the cone with the spiral that the origin may be rather more of the Cretan character. There is no doubt that any peculiarly shaped stones were objects of interest, and even veneration, in neolithic times, and it is probable that both the cone and the spiral may have had their origins in fossil-shells, namely, the belemnite and the ammonite, or some similar shell, and, in fact, such fossils have been found at Hal Saflieni (see Fig. 24), and a terra-cotta model of a spiral shell is among the discoveries at Santa Verna. By comparison with the Phœnician and Syrian remains we gather that the cone became the symbol of Astarte, or the Moon Goddess, and it is possible that the spiral may have become the emblem of the sun-god, afterwards Baal. As the pit-markings are found in association with these two, it is just conceivable that we have here the symbols of the sun, moon, and stars. But such an explanation of the pit-markings is somewhat doubtful, and is only hazarded as the merest suggestion.

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The neolithic inhabitants of Malta were a peace-loving people, like their Cretan relations, and, apart from the possible sling-stones discovered concealed in a heap near the entrance of Hal Saflieni, no weapons have been found among the remains. It cannot be supposed, however, that peace always remained with them, for it is not likely that the various towers already referred to, and particularly the fortifications of Borg en Nadur, had any other object than defence. Their resemblance to the Nuraghi and Talayots of Sardinia and the Balearic Islands supports this view, as well as their situation in important defensive positions, and, since their construction appears to be of later date than that of the sanctuaries, it is not unlikely that these peaceful dwellers had at length to face some kind of invasion which may have made lasting traces on their evolution. It is very likely that on the approach of an enemy the people fled in from the surrounding country and took refuge in these citadels. Their age, however, as has been said, is somewhat problematical, but Borg en Nadur at least appears to be of genuinely prehistoric antiquity.

THE NEOLITHIC OBJECTS

CHAPTER VI

THE NEOLITHIC OBJECTS

IN dealing with the neolithic objects of the sanctuaries, tombs, and hypogea of Malta, we are faced with a mass of material which almost baffles description, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that much is peculiar to Malta alone, leading to the suspicion that the early inhabitants were not much disturbed, and pursued their lives in isolation, little marred by external commerce or hostile invasion. In some departments of science it is felt that there is too much theory and speculation and too little tangible material ; in Malta the position is reversed, and we are buried in an amorphous mass of material, and are forced to grope in the dark for theories. In the application of the Mediterranean Race scheme to the data of the islands, it is hoped that a step will be taken in the right direction.

The objects, like the buildings in which they

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were found, attest a relationship with the other neolithic peoples of Europe and Africa, and, beyond this, certain characteristics can be traced significant of primeval life and worship in general, and having much in common with savage rites and customs of all ages and countries. The hollowed tables of Hagiar Kim must bear a relationship to similar objects used by the Phœnicians, among whom the stone enclosure and the cone are also found in connection with religious ceremonies. In the recent work of Mr. E. S. Hartland, "Primitive Paternity," there appears to be much which is useful for the solution of many of the mysteries with which we are brought face to face in Malta. In the early days, before overcrowding threatened to become a danger, and when the existence of a tribe depended on its numerical strength, the desire for children was one of the ruling emotions in the breasts of the people, just as it is with many primitive tribes to-day, and a woman's greatest joy lay in the production of a numerous offspring. We should not be surprised, therefore, if much of the ritual evidenced by the Maltese remains had this same object in view, and, just

The Neolithic Objects

as in Crete it is observed that women officiated in the temples, so here it may be imagined that in the chief sanctuaries priestesses presided over the mysteries of pregnancy and childbirth. Mr. Hartland has collected numerous instances to prove that savage people had very vague ideas of the real cause of birth, and adopted all kinds of artifices to produce it. Water was supposed to be a means of inducing pregnancy, and he mentions ancient stones in Scotland, cupped for the purpose of collecting the rain, as serving to this end. In spite of the idea that the sacrifices of many of these early people were of a bloody nature, it would be gathered from the general evidence afforded that the neolithic people with whom we are concerned were averse from bloodshed ; and it may be at least suggested that the hollowed tables and the numerous water-holes which are met with in the monuments may have had this more innocent intention. Mention has also been made of the fish ornament of the Gigantia, and images of fish are also found among the Hal Saflieni objects (see Fig. 24). The fish is referred to by Mr. Hartland as also being regarded as efficacious in producing fecundity,

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although in Malta it must always have been esteemed for more directly utilitarian purposes. In the same connection the numerous egg-shaped stones found promiscuously about the monuments may find their parallel in similar stones of the Shetland Islands. Amulets are numerous and exquisite in the Maltese collections, and such objects are also mentioned by Mr. Hartland as being used to produce the same result. A belief is mentioned as prevalent in the Tyrol that children are born from toad-shaped *Müttern* which are supposed to enter into women; whereas the Queenslanders hold that God places little images in the womb. The amulets of the Upper Niger are tortoises and lizards, and no great stretch of imagination is required, with these facts in view, to suppose that the numerous terra-cotta tortoises, birds, and other creatures of uncouth shapes (see Fig. 24) found in the various sanctuaries of Malta were regarded as efficacious for the inducement of fecundity. From the numerous objects representing pathological states of the human body discovered there, the Mnaidra is judged by some to have been a kind of hospital or shrine of an early Æsculapius. This may well

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have been the case, but the recently discovered figure of a pregnant woman and the various animal figures tend to show that the obtaining of children may have been one of the primary purposes. And in this connection a further light may be shed by Mr. Hartland's book on the question of the end and purpose of the sanctuaries themselves, based as they are upon the tomb principle. Besides the widespread custom prevailing among primitive women of rubbing themselves against stones to produce pregnancy, a practice intimately associated with Phallic worship, more particularly may we observe the important part that blood, human remains, and the many insignia of death play in the early mind when bent upon the path of procreation. Women are mentioned as frequenting the ghastly remains of executed criminals and those who have met with violent death, the underlying idea being that, such people having been cut off in their full vigour, great virtue remains in their earthly relics. Priests, being celibate, were probably viewed in the same light, as being brimful of this life-giving virtue. Now, without seeking to controvert the view that ancestor-worship

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prevailed in neolithic Malta, I think it safe to hazard at least a suggestion that in these sanctuaries, or some of them, this specialised form of worship of the dead for a particular purpose may have taken place, and such a use would account for many of the terra-cotta images and figurines found about the shrines.

It is difficult to judge from the excavations what portions of these objects were the furniture of the shrines, votive offerings, or objects of worship, and what had a more personal significance, being placed with the body finally in its last resting-place. So amorphous was the mass first cleared from Hal Saflieni that it is difficult to make a distinction of this kind with regard to the earlier finds, but we should probably be safe in assigning certain of the larger figures and stones to the numerous niches in the building and other posts of honour wherein they could be generally worshipped. In this category we may place the various squatting and steatopygous female figures found at Hagiar Kim (see Fig. 25) and some of those belonging to the hypogeum, and may remark on their relationship to those of Egypt, Phæstos in Crete, Thessaly, and

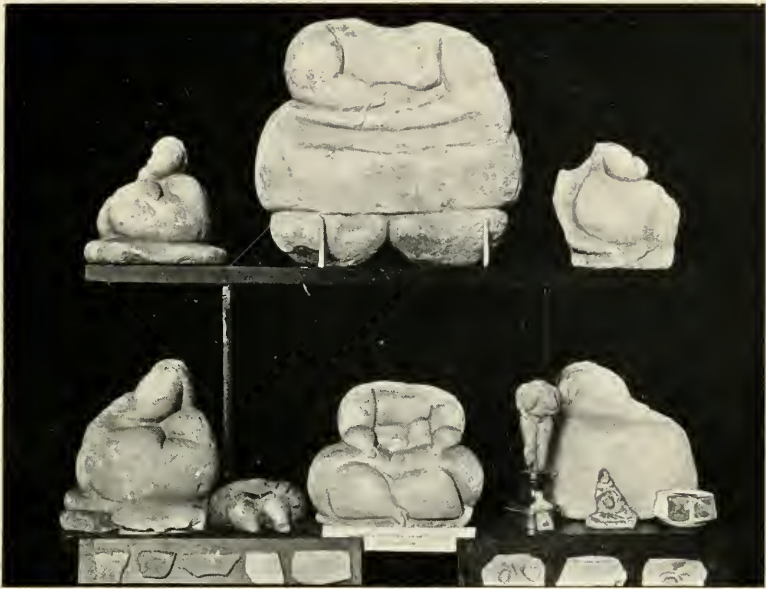


FIG. 25. STEATOPYGOUS FEMALE FIGURES FROM HAGIAR KIM, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

The Neolithic Objects

even Palæolithic France. The exuberant proportions of the sexual parts of the body are a link of relationship in all these cases, and further common features are either the scanty delineation of the head or its absence altogether, a hole being made in the shoulders for its insertion. Other figurines of Hal Saflieni (see Fig. 15) show the light waist and rudiments of the waistbelt and also the flounced petticoat so remarkable in Crete as showing that ancient and modern fashions were much the same in this respect, the Grecian ideal being a mere interloper corresponding to the Aryan invasion. In my excavations at Hal Saflieni I was fortunate enough to discover another steatopygous statuette buried along with the bones just as the amulets are, so that it is probable that figures of this kind were used as personal charms as well as being objects of public worship. So widespread, however, is this cult of woman, and woman highly sexualised, stretching from Ancient Egypt throughout the Mediterranean islands to Syria, Greece, and France, that we have to regard it as one of the main features of the life of the Mediterranean Race. In Crete we see the development of the

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idea from the rudest stone suggestion of a female body to the lady of the flounced petticoat, and we are reminded that in Greece the most ancient images of the gods were uncouth blocks of stone. With this worship of woman Mosso associates the axe, and holds that a general cult of woman and the axe went through Crete to Rome, where the axe became part of the insignia of Mars; while Zeus and Jupiter gradually took the place of the Earth Mother, who was worshipped by all this early race. The votive axe in stone and copper is common throughout the Mediterranean in all the places where the cult of woman was practised, and in Malta we have examples in the wonderful collection of polished axe amulets from Hal Saflieni. It is, however, the sacred double-axe which is associated most intimately with Crete, and of this variety I know of only one instance, and that a somewhat doubtful one, a fact which will indicate the isolation of the place in Minoan times; this I was fortunate enough to discover at Hal Saflieni. It is of the ordinary soft Malta stone, one and a quarter inches long, sharp at the one end and blunt at the other, and

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having so few signs of shaping that one might easily suppose it to be a casual chip were it not for its characteristic shape and the facts that it was discovered deep down in the undisturbed red soil and very near another unique but somewhat doubtful object, also in soft stone, a votive spear-head with a tang. This double-axe has a moderately limited sphere, and is chiefly confined to the Mediterranean; it is notably associated, as has been said, with Crete, so much so that the authors of "Crete, the Forerunner of Greece" hold that the origin of the word "labyrinth" is to be found in *labrys* (the double-axe). The double-axe is to-day a common implement in Malta for dressing stone for building.

The cult of the axe is as widespread in this early civilisation as that of woman, and specimens of the tool have been found in Cyprus, Germany, sculptured in prehistoric Egypt and France, and, both ancient and modern, in the Congo country. It is curious, with regard to this last instance, that Maltese folk-lore tells of the "Land of the Axe," Bufiles, one of those far-off countries into which daring spirits venture; and,

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as I shall show later, other incidents in the story point to some land across the Sahara. "Axeland" must be one of the original homes of the axe, and therefore, possibly, of neolithic culture. May this be another independent indication that some part of Africa south of the Great Desert was the original home of the Mediterranean Race? A residence in South Africa has suggested to me that several affinities exist between the Kafir and Bushman habits and modes of living and those which we are studying. The Kafirs are fairly recent immigrants from Central Africa, and much of the culture of which evidences exist at present may well belong to the older Bushmen, who dwell now only as a fringe around the sturdier race. The Bushman taste for rock-sculpture will certainly suggest itself in this connection, but more especially the proneness of the race to steatopygia may give an indication of the origin of the idols already described. I may be going too far in suggesting that Kafir pottery, with its rope-band, lozenges, and chalk-filled depressions, has a resemblance to dolmen and other neolithic pottery, and that the plan of a Kafir kraal, with its wall of uprights, its

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enclosed bee-hive huts, and its partially spherical granaries, may be distantly related to the domed and circular structures with which we have been dealing, and their general arrangements.

There is much about the clothing of the ladies of Ancient Malta and Minoan Crete which reminds us of modern fashion—the flounced petticoat, the waistbelt, the low-necked bodice, the fondness for lace and frilling. I think that the change which followed in matters of dress is but a phase of the general Aryan repression, strong father-right crushing down womanhood, from which Europe has long been attempting to recover, a curious interlude being afforded by the regime of women and the great influence of the *salons* in Europe when the manhood of the nations had been exhausted by the Thirty Years' War ; a more obvious rebellion is to be observed in the Suffragist movement of the present day. But the spirit underlying the Cretan mode of attire is scarcely that of woman triumphant ; this is best represented in the older examples, particularly those of Egypt, where the symbols of motherhood appear naked and unashamed. I

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should be rather inclined to see in this coquetry of adornment an attempt by woman, in the days when father-right was beginning to assert its claims, to slightly veil her charms in order to enhance the sexual feeling, and it must be admitted that most of the examples before us give that impression. The addiction to lace and frilling is only a counterpart of the introduction of the waistbelt, the *cestus* of the Goddess of Love, which perhaps more than any part of the female attire has the effect of giving prominence to the bodily differences in sex. The Greek *chiton* made the woman appear as a boy, and her lines were almost straight, just as to-day when she claims man's privileges she imitates the lines of a slender youth.

The Cretan ladies seem to have favoured transparencies and semi-transparencies in their dress, thus giving themselves the additional advantage of a half-veiled charm. The Maltese statuettes also seem to indicate something of this kind, a baring of more of the upper part of the body than would now be held to comply with the exigencies of decorum. We find no compromises of this kind in Aryan dress ; the limbs and body

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are either covered or uncovered. On the other hand, the pre-Aryan idea is continued in the use of lace, and I do not consider it a casual thing that Malta has always been famed for this material. The use of lace seems to be a pre-Aryan survival; and not only in Malta but in other localities where its making is a special industry—Spain, Ireland, France, and the West of England, all original homes of the Mediterranean Race—it seems not improbable that the custom survives as a vestige of the ancient uses and ideas of this Hamitic people.

It may be pretty safely concluded from the shapes of the statuettes that sexual feelings played a great part in the lives of this ancient people, and it is probable that women of bounteous proportions were objects of great admiration. This feeling is by no means dead, for in Malta a straight female figure is still regarded as an abomination, and the English sporting woman, with her slender and somewhat angular moulding, is looked upon almost with pity. The Maltese lady takes little exercise, and has few interests beyond purely family ones; that is, she is far more sexualised than our own women,

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who are inspired more by the Aryan ideals. Among the Romans *gracilis* meant both "slender" and "graceful," and the two are almost synonymous with us, but not, I think, with many of our lower classes, who may still have Hamitic blood in their veins. I well remember as a boy, in the interval of a cricket-match at Lord's, seeing the *élite* stroll on to the ground from the pavilion, when a working-man remarked, "There's a fine woman, Bill!" I shall never forget my surprise when I noticed the proportions of the lady.

But we have by no means exhausted the points of relationship of the Maltese relics with those of other Mediterranean peoples, and more especially I would again draw attention to the horns, which were apparently objects of high worship at Hal Saffieni and in the sanctuaries, just as one sees them to-day upon almost every house and building in the country districts. They, too, are common in Crete, and became particularly prominent in the later worship of Baal, the child of the older neolithic cult, as is evident from the monuments of Phœnicia and North Africa. The numerous hemispherical and



FIG. 26. POLISHED AXE AMULETS OF HAL SAFLIENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.
(Photo, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)



FIG. 27. "OX" DISH FROM HAL SAFLIENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.
(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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conical stones of Hagiär Kim and Hal Safflieni form another link with Sardinia, Crete, North Africa, Syria, Ancient Greece, and Egypt, and I have already suggested that veneration was attached to stones of peculiar shapes, the idols of Ancient Greece, for example, and also that the cone shape may have had an association with fossil specimens. The whole question is, however, shrouded in mystery. In my excavations at Hal Safflieni I have attached more importance than my friends appear to consider justifiable to numerous stone objects, rudely shaped in triangles and shell-like semblances. Many I hold to be rough images of digging tools, and may take the place of the more expensive amulets of the rich (shown in Fig. 26). But in the same place I have found large and useful implements for digging, and may at least hazard the suggestion that some of these small objects were images of tools of a votive or symbolic character.

One is struck, too, by the custom, also observable in the neolithic and Bronze Age remains of Italy and Sicily, and not less characteristic of many savage peoples of to-day, of breaking articles before entombing them with

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the body, in order that the immortality denied to the entire object may ensue, the idea being, apparently, that the thing must die absolutely before it could come to life again. And some similar train of thought may be at the bottom of the process of *scarnitura* and the disjointing before secondary burial.

The late Signor Mosso observed that many of the evidences of this early culture were absent from Italy, and conjectures that the reason for this was that this peninsula was glacial in neolithic times. The same idea follows from the evidences displayed in Peet's "Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy." The culture which we see working down as far as Puglia appears to be Ligurian; that is, it has come from Africa to Spain and pursues its way thence through Italy. Another current appears to flow northward through Sicily to meet the first at Molfetta. Italy is backward in the use of metals, and we may safely say that Malta is more so. It would appear, therefore, that the route from Africa to Sicily by way of Malta was in neolithic times little frequented, and we have no signs of intercommunication in neolithic

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times between Malta and Sicily. There are similarities, as in the use of dolmens, rock tombs, the practice of *scarnitura*, and the use of red paint in burials, but all this only means that the peoples are related and have the same traditions. The similarity of the sculptured stones of Castelluccio to Maltese decoration is close, but it is too isolated to count for much. Most significant of the insularity of Maltese conditions is the uniqueness of the pottery. It is essentially Maltese, and no importations in neolithic times have yet been established; it has not even any close relations, a fact which seems to indicate an isolation stretching over a long period of time. Such general relationship as can be traced with regard to the pottery will be dealt with in the next chapter, but there is one ceramic object which is of particular interest in the present connection, and that is a dish from Hal Saflieni, ornamented with incised figures of oxen (see Fig. 27). Professor Tagliaferro holds that these represent the extinct *Bos bubalus* of North Africa, and if this is the case, we have another interesting relationship established with that continent, although it is not impossible that the

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animals were present in Malta itself in this period.

So far I have dealt with the main objects of the prehistoric period in Malta, treating of their possible uses and relationships in a broad manner in order to bring into prominence any ethnic connections which seem to exist. Since, however, Mr. T. E. Peet has recently examined in detail the objects of Hal Saflieni, it may not be out of place to give a more particular account of the more interesting, following his description in the Second Report on the hypogeum.

There is a steatopygous female figure, 40 centimetres high, erect in posture, with a hole between the shoulders into which fit either of two heads. The latter are characterised by a great fullness of the lower part of the face, a peculiarity not uncommon in other statuettes of the island. Both body and heads were formerly painted red. There are several smaller figures, one in white marble, all more or less steatopygous; some of these have been already referred to. Besides the fish illustrated in Fig. 24, there is also a figure of one upon a sort of couch like that on which the lady of the flounced petticoat lies.

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Numerous flints are among the collection, shaped like the sector of a circle, the arc being sharpened to a fine edge on the core side only. A comparison is made with those of Tell el Hesi in Palestine.

Objects of shell are also found in large numbers, the semi-fossilised *Spondylus gødaropus* being largely used. In this category we have buttons, beads, and animal figures. The first are conical or in the shape of a small segment of a sphere, the flat underside being bored with converging holes. The conical ones are very similar to one found at Carrowmore in Ireland, made of steatite, but Peet considers these buttons to be characteristically dolmenic, and quotes instances of similar finds in Italy, Sardinia, France, Spain, Scandinavia, England, Bohemia, and Austria.

Several cones of limestone may have been bætyls, or were used as plugs for holes in the floor, some having been found in such a position in the hypogeum. Some heavy mallets may have been used for striking the rock or else for crushing grain. There is a model in the shape of an hour-glass of a pillar such as are found at the

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Mnaidra, supporting tables. The sling-stones have already been referred to. They are similar in shape to those found in Thessaly and the north of Greece, but some are of a very large size, apparently too large for the purpose suggested, and have no parallel. We cannot be sure, therefore, that these were sling-stones at all. Some of them are bored at the end.

The pendants appear to be rather axes than celts, but there is one true celt of cylindrical shape. For the former there are parallels in Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and in the rock sepulchres of France. The views of Orsi and of Pigorini, respectively, that they may have been regarded as symbolic weapons, and that they had a religious significance, are referred to in the Report ; but both may be correct, for it is not unreasonable that a weapon should be regarded with worship as a symbol of power.

Other objects are nuts, perforated probably for use as pendants, bored teeth, and pierced fish vertebræ. The last have parallels in Italy, Crete, Hissarlik, and the south-east of Spain.

A further point of great interest arises in connection with the polished axe-pendants.

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Through the kindness of the British Museum authorities, the material from which these are made is now established. Many, or most of them, are of nephrite or jade, a material which has been found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland and at Hissarlik. It is a question in the former case whether it was obtained by barter or brought with them by the original inhabitants. The latter were probably Aryans, and so their home would be looked for in Asia. It is not improbable that they did bring the jade with them, since the chief origin of the stone is the Kuen Lun Mountains in Turkestan, and, save for a recent discovery in the Harz Mountains, it is not found in Europe. As regards neolithic times, jade objects are found in Hissarlik in Asia Minor, Malta, and Sicily. Does this mean a trade-route, or that the settlers brought the material once and for all? As regards Malta, it may well be supposed that the latter was the case, as it may have been with obsidian; for we have no other evidences of traffic. This opens up a wide question. Our fundamental principle is that the Mediterranean Race came from Africa; but from the numerous connections

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between Malta and Syria or Asia Minor, it is difficult to do other than suppose that there was a secondary migration to Malta of related people from these parts. Trade between Asia Minor or Syria and Turkestan, however, would be by no means impossible, and there seems to be a further race extension in the direction of the latter region. Professor Keith holds that a "Brown Race," which included or was related to the "Mediterranean Race," stretched away around the coast as far as India.



FIG. 28. MALTESE "SCALE" WARE, VALLETTA MUSEUM.
(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

PREHISTORIC POTTERY OF MALTA

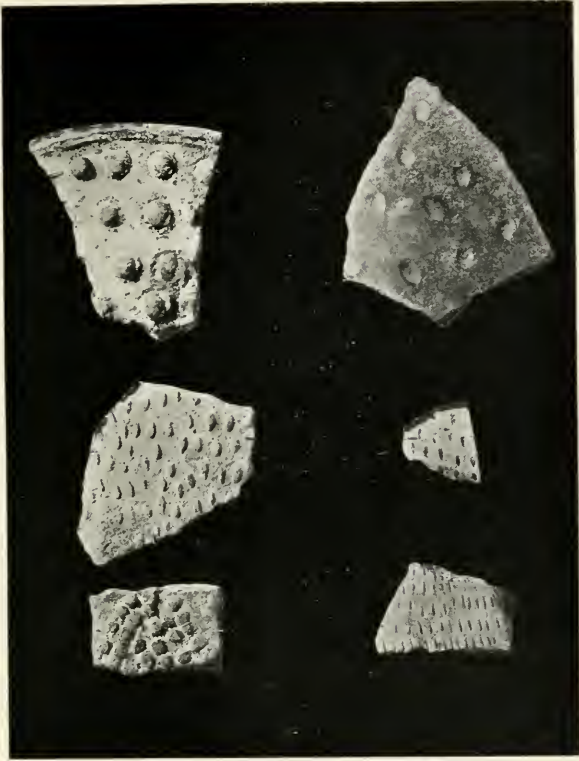


FIG. 29. (1) STUDDED, AND (2) PITTED WARE, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

CHAPTER VII

PREHISTORIC POTTERY OF MALTA

Nothing is more characteristic of the isolation of Malta in prehistoric times than the uniqueness of its pottery. For variety of design and style and finished execution I think I may say it is unmatched in any other country, and a visit to the Valletta Museum or even a reference to the excellent photographs in Professor Tagliaferro's brochure on the pottery of Hal Saflieni will, I think, confirm such an opinion. The account given in this chapter must be regarded as descriptive rather than critical, for I cannot claim to speak with authority on this highly technical subject. I have nevertheless had the advantage of some personal experience in the matter, afforded by the handling and rough classification of all the pottery from Santa Verna, and a few valuable hints from Mr. T. E. Peet, who must be considered the expert on the subject, have

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afforded the greatest enlightenment. The Santa Verna pottery is a fruitful field for study in that it embraces practically all the Hal Saflieni classes together with several new ones, and many modifications and combinations of the former, so much so that it can hardly be dealt with on the lines of Professor Tagliaferro's work on the pottery of the hypogeum, but requires a broader and simpler treatment in order to avoid over-elaboration of divisions.

Broadly, Maltese prehistoric pottery falls into four wide classes :—

1. Rough, unslipped ware.
2. Maltese slip ware.
3. Bahria ware.
4. Painted ware.

1. The first class includes not only the coarse, primitive, badly baked and prepared pottery such as is found in the Ghar Dalam cavern and in most other sites, but also work of high technique and artistic excellence, such as that ornamented with relief strips, scales (see Fig. 28), and scallops, and with fluted ornament. This ornament is usually associated with red ware, fairly thick, and the pottery was

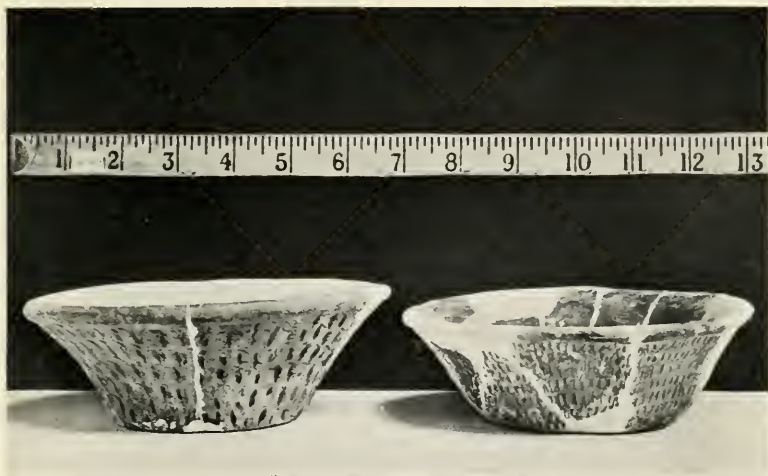


FIG. 30. NOTCHED BOWLS FROM SANTA VERNA. VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

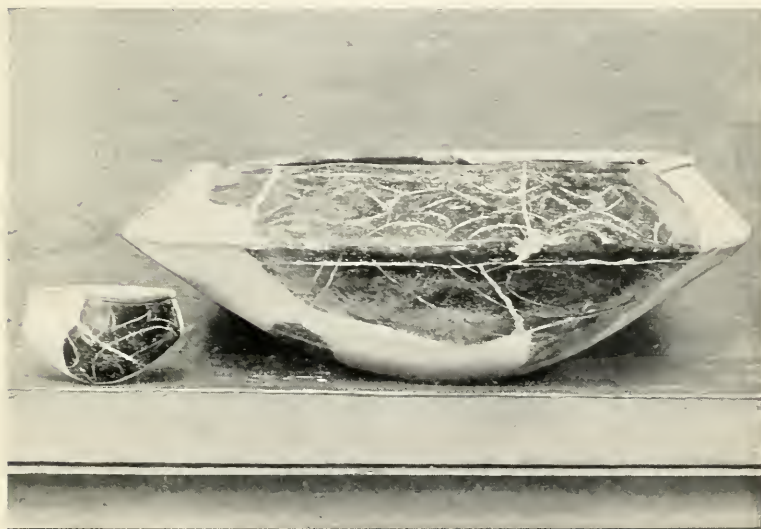


FIG. 31. BOWLS FROM SANTA VERNA, WITH PLANT AND GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS, VALLETTA MUSEUM ($\frac{1}{6}$).

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

Prehistoric Pottery of Malta

probably in the nature of large jars. Very fine and numerous specimens of this description occur in the fourth and last Santa Verna period, so that we can by no means regard it as representing an early stage of development, as might at first be thought from its being less elaborate than the incised ware. In the same class must be placed large red bowls of somewhat porous material, used apparently in the fire for cooking or similar purposes, the sole ornamentation of which is a kind of pie-crust edging.

The pottery belonging to this category was necessarily ornamented before the baking process.

2. It is the highly-polished slip ware which is specially characteristic of Malta, and which displays some of the finest decorations. It is found both plain and incised, the incisions being in most cases, as far as can be judged, made after baking, and then very often filled with white or occasionally red paste. The infilling, however, is not found in some of the finer incisions. The slip of the plain ware is most often black, but may be red or even buff, the black and the red being often variations due to the manner

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or extent of baking, but the colour is by no means always accidental, as we find vases with the one colour inside and the other externally. The plain ware is mostly used for small bowls and saucers, and is generally highly polished by hand. The decorated ware of this class includes ornamentation by studs or bosses, and pittings or stick marks (see Fig. 29), though many specimens of these varieties belong to Class 1; notches (Fig. 30); geometrical designs in the form of lozenges, lattices, triangles, and scrolls; the fringed line, the spiral, and the ornamented panel are other varieties. The decoration is sometimes brought into relief by dots or punctures, sometimes the panels are dotted (Fig. 33), or hatched (Fig. 32), or again the lines may be emphasised by red paint. In the best examples of this ware, found at the highest level at Santa Verna, the decorations, both geometrical and taken from plant-life, are exquisitely finished (see Fig. 31), and one example of almost egg-shell pottery has a design quite worthy of the general workmanship. The varied shapes of the bowls may be gathered from the accompanying illustrations, but the large vessels of Hal Saflieni (see



FIG. 32. HANGING (?) LAMP FROM HAL SAFLIENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo. T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)



FIG. 33. POTTERY FROM SANTA VERNA.

(1) Incised design brought out in deeper colour, and (2) Fine black ware with notched panel. Valletta Museum.

(Photo. T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

Prehistoric Pottery of Malta

Fig. 32) with string holes for suspension are particularly noticeable, as Mr. Borlase, in "The Dolmens of Ireland," illustrates a similar example belonging to that country, and others of a like description have been found in Spain and Portugal.

There is an elaboration in the ornament of the Santa Verna pottery which is not seen elsewhere—the colouring of the design in another pigment, or rather a different coloured slip. Thus the scroll or leaf-like design (Fig. 33) appears in deep red against a lighter or, rarely, a black background, and further relief may be afforded by pit-markings. The fish, the hanging fruits, and the possible comet have already been mentioned in connection with the excavation of the site, and the "ox" design on the Hal Saflieni dish has also been referred to.

Perhaps the most curious variety of this kind of ornament, however, and, as far as I know, found in no other Maltese site, is a decoration over the slip, without cutting it, by some kind of blunt instrument, the effect being that of a lead-pencil mark. This form of ornament is the more curious in that it is only apparent on

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careful examination. It is just possible that it represents the first outlining for the final incision.

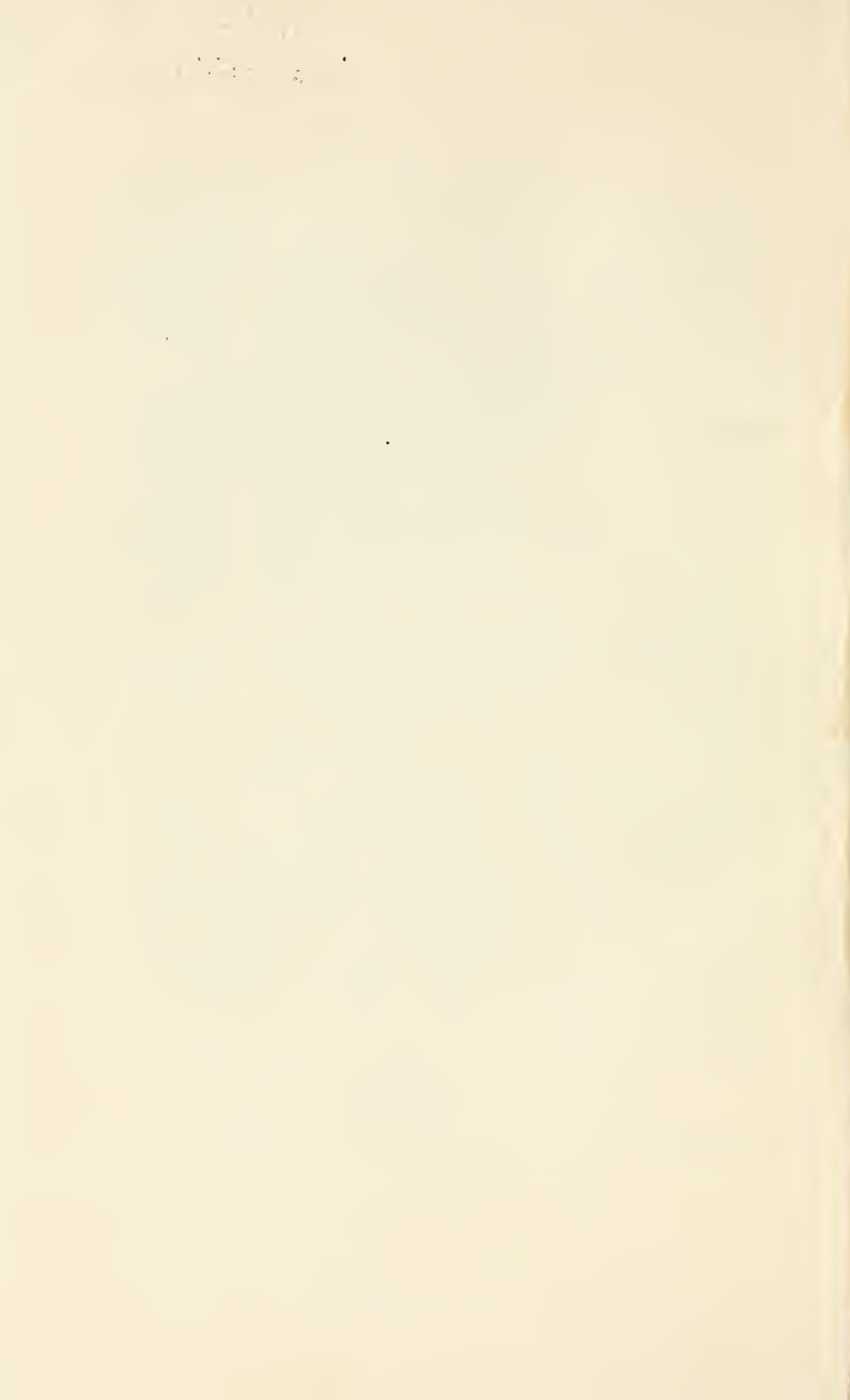
3. The Bahria pottery has been described by Mr. T. E. Peet in his "Contributions to the Study of the Prehistoric Period in Malta" (London, 1910), reprinted from the "Papers of the British School at Rome," vol. v. The plain ware is grey or red, and to each kind is applied respectively a good black or red slip; the latter may, however, fire brown or black. The slip is very characteristic and now has usually a crackly appearance. More noticeable is the ornamented ware, the designs being very exactly cut out before baking and the incisions filled with white, so that a fine colour contrast is obtained. The excellence and uniqueness of shape and ornament (see Fig. 34), combined with the fact that the making of the pottery appears to belong only to Bahria, a lonely spot on the West Coast, have led Mr. Peet to interesting surmises as to the origin of the makers. He is inclined to regard them as immigrants and to seek for relationships in North Africa.

A little of the ware was found at Hal Saflieni,



FIG. 34. POTTERY, SPINDLE-WHORLS, AND (?) LOOM-WEIGHTS FROM BAHRIA.

(Photo, Valletta Museum.)



Prehistoric Pottery of Malta

but more has been discovered at Borg en Nadur and at Santa Verna since the writing of the article referred to. Thus, while still maintaining the uniqueness of the Bahria ware and ascribing it to a people of separate traditions, we may feel more secure on the point that its date is roughly contemporaneous with the rest of the pottery described in this chapter ; and its high pitch of development now no longer argues so wide a separation in point of culture, since at Santa Verna the ordinary incised ware is carried to such perfection as to easily bear comparison with the other. Just as we find special Gozo designs, so there was a separate tradition at Bahria, and so sedentary and conservative are the Maltese even at present that the crystallising of little ethnic groups in certain localities with their own particular methods and customs is easily understood. Moreover, as is shown elsewhere, the possibility of more than one immigration at an early date is readily conceivable.

The finding of painted ware at Santa Verna, especially in the earliest stratum, is something of a surprise, and as there is at present no reason to ascribe to it a foreign origin, this kind must be

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added to the classes of indigenous neolithic pottery. The varieties are two, the ware in both cases being grey ; the first has a buff slip and is painted in straight red lines, both single and broad, and double and narrow ; the other a rose slip with a hatched scallop design painted a deeper rose (see Fig. 35).

As regards relationship with other countries, nothing, except of the most general nature, can be said. The Maltese pottery bears a family likeness to neolithic pottery of Europe and the Mediterranean basin, especially that connected with megalithic monuments. In the incised ware it is possible to make rough comparisons with pre-dynastic Egypt and neolithic Crete and Sicily ; the white filling is found in Crete, Egypt, Bosnia, and Hissarlik among other places ; pit-markings and knobs are evident in the remains of the downward current of Ligurians in Italy. But all this is of a general nature, and we can say no more of the Maltese pottery than that in general it is neolithic, in particular it is unique.



FIG. 35. PAINTED POTTERY OF SANTA VERNA,
VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

To face p. 148.

THE ALTAR OF HAGIAR KIM

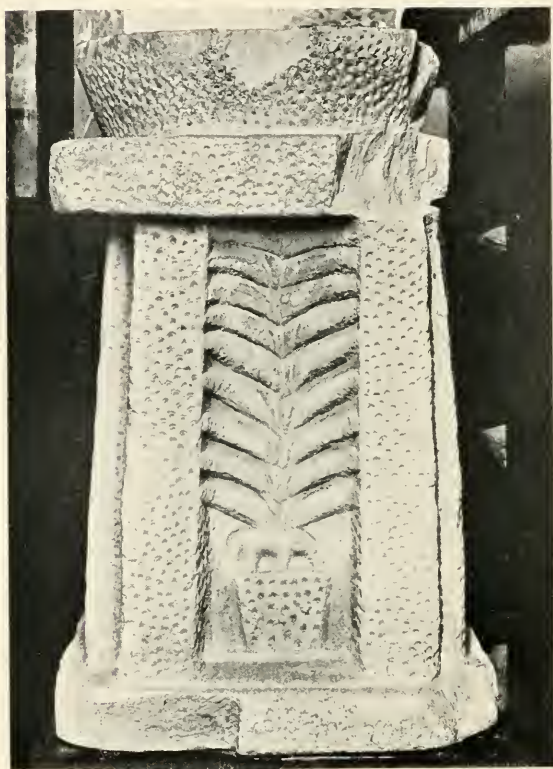


FIG. 36. ALTAR OF HAGIAR KIM, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photo, T. D. Le Roncellel, Esq.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALTAR OF HAGIAR KIM

IN an interesting work, "Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta," Herr Wunsch has probed into a narrative of an Arab held captive in the island about the year 1591. The elucidations of this author have a twofold bearing on the subject in hand, both as regards the religion of the people and possibly the meaning of the puzzling ornament on the altar of Hagiär Kim, now preserved in the Valletta Museum (see Fig. 36).

The captive Suleiman was a critical observer of the rites and ceremonies that obtained around him, and he gives a short account of one in connection with the patron saint, John the Baptist. He was informed that on a certain anniversary a gorgeous bejewelled image of the saint was paraded with great pomp and cast into a garden beneath the flowering beans. The priests gave out that the saint was angry and

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needed propitiation ; then followed three days' mourning, accompanied by the collection of much money, and at the end of this period the image was taken out amid great rejoicings, fully satisfied with the behaviour of his protégés.

There are many curious points in this story which Wünsch thought deserving of study, and he offers a very possible explanation of the ceremony. As may be imagined, however, the custom has its roots in much earlier times than the Christian era. The flowering beanfield fixes the date of the ceremony as the middle of March, and this coincides with the Greek festival of the *anthesterion*, or feast of flowers, probably emblematic of the revival of nature and of the visitation of the earth by the souls of the dead, typified by the growth of plants.

The bean had a special significance among the ancients with respect to the dead, possibly through its flower possessing, like the hyacinth, the letters AI, the exclamation of woe ; possibly also from a rude human resemblance in the pod. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that the bean was used for propitiatory purposes, and thus the first connection of the Maltese ceremony

The Altar of Hagiar Kim

with the *anthesterion* is arrived at. But the use of the idol and its peculiar treatment need further explanation, and thought easily travels to Adonis, the god of vegetation, whose early death was the subject of annual celebration among certain of the ancients. We learn that the head of Adonis was supposed to float yearly from Alexandria to Byblos in Phœnicia, and that the women of Alexandria used to send a letter floating in a jar to Byblos, telling that he had come to life. Here is probably an amalgamation of rites pertaining to the two somewhat similar gods, Adonis and Osiris. Moreover, the death and rebirth of Adonis was celebrated in various emblematic ways by the Mediterranean peoples, among them the ancient Athenians. With the Greeks and Phœnicians it was the custom to set quickly growing and early fading plants in pots, to symbolise the career of the god, and at Byblos these were cast into the sea. Around this figure of Adonis, therefore, there hangs a dual atmosphere, that of the sea and that of plant-life, the former being probably the earlier and gradually fading away as men became more agricultural in their habits.

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Wünsch supposes the Maltese custom, evidently arising from Adonis worship, to be due to the colonisation of Malta by Ionic Greeks, but, as we shall see later, such a colonisation is barely established, nor is its postulation necessary for our purposes. Adonis-Osiris worship was an intimate part of the religion of the Eurafrican inhabitants of Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean islands, the male god gradually rising in importance as mother-right became weakened.

By the time the Knights took possession of Malta in 1530, the memory of Adonis had long departed, and it was not difficult to transfer the ceremony to the patron saint of the Order, especially as there were many points in common in the lives and traditions of the two—namely, association with water, blooming manhood, early death, and the severed head. An ecclesiastical visitation, however, caused a further transference. The connection with St. John being rather loose, and the *festa* not coinciding with any of his feast days, the rite was transferred to the honour of St. Gregory, whose day was March 12. From early records it appears that

The Altar of Hagiār Kim

the ceremony was first associated with the neighbourhood of Marsa Scirocco, at the south-east of the island, where there stood a church of St. John. On the other hand, this is a great pre-historic and Phœnician centre, still signalised by the ruins of Borg en Nadur, and here was probably one of the early ports of the island. In this neighbourhood the rite would be in close association with the sea, the element with which the god was in the earliest times connected. In later days its seat was shifted, possibly owing to the frequency of piratical raids, to a point farther inland. A still further step was made when the centre became the Church of St. Gregory at Zeitun.

The foisting of pagan rites upon Christian saints is very characteristic, not only of Malta but possibly of a far wider area. Another important feature, as showing relationships of race and culture, is prevalence of this particular rite throughout Greece. The third point is in connection with the Adonis-pots, with their quickly flowering plants, used to symbolise the god. On each side of the altar of Hagiār Kim there is carved some kind of vessel, containing a palm-

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like plant, for which no explanation has yet been given. There seems to be no reason why Adonis or a proto-Adonis was not worshipped at Hagiar Kim, nor why he may not have been symbolised in this manner. The carving has a somewhat advanced appearance, and this is only what we might expect, for Adonis worship would probably not be that originally practised in the temple. As regards the plant itself, it appears somewhat conventional, but the leaves are very similar to those of the Hal Saflieni roof decorations, and also to much of the ceramic design.

It is therefore possible that in this ornament we have a further indication of a widespread culture indicative of original race relationships. There is a connection with the Egyptian rites, and a further one with Greece and Phœnicia, and the general conclusion is that we are in the presence of a broad Hamitic relationship, and a more special one subsisting between Malta and the land of the Phœnicians. In the legend and genealogy of Europa, who was sister to Phœnix, the ancestor of the Phœnicians and mother of Minos, and in the story of her brother Cadmus, there are indications of a close con-

The Altar of Hagiar Kim

nection of Phœnicia with both Greece and Egypt, and we may well suppose that much of the legend relative to the first had more to do with an early Hamitic stream which passed, as the Hittites, and perhaps the Pelasgians, from Africa, possibly through Egypt, to Asia Minor and thence to Greece and the islands of the Mediterranean.

THE MALTESE RACE

CHAPTER IX

THE MALTESE RACE

THE Maltese race question has in the past been discussed with more regard to sentiment and popular pride than to exact truth. When one writer who upheld a Hebrew origin of the Maltese was asked why he favoured this rather than an Arabic derivation, he replied that the Hebrews were the people of Christ, whereas the Arabs were the people of Mahomet. This is only characteristic of much that has been said and written, and it is evident that not only individual sentiment has obfuscated the issue but that the proximity of Italy, with its religious authority and historical glamour, has done much to draw the people away from their traditions. The ecclesiastical influence can be traced even in the language, which is struggling hard against English and Romance rivals, and bids fair to succumb in the city areas. Apart from this spirit, how-

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ever, the tendency of the learned has been to seek a proud origin for the Maltese in a Phœnician ancestry, and much research has proved of little value owing to the prevalence of this fixed idea, which, though not altogether devoid of truth, is much too narrow in its scope. Even the sanctuaries still pass commonly as Phœnician, although it is well known to science that they are much older. We can quite understand this pride among an insular people who desire to hold up their heads with the English and Italians and to point to an ancestry as noble and famous as any in the world ; we can understand the aversion to being in any way connected with Arabs, especially when the Englishman's lack of discrimination with regard to foreigners is remembered. All this, however, is to the scientific mind of little avail compared with the value of truth ; but we cannot expect everybody to accept the scientific point of view. After all, this desire for truth is a thing of recent birth and does not enter into the psychology of all peoples. Not that I wish to suggest in the least that the Maltese are Arabs—far be it from me ! But there is no doubt that they talk Arabic, and not only that,

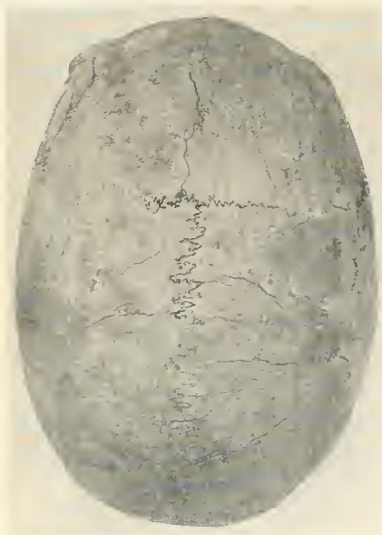


FIG. 37. Ellipsoid.



FIG. 38. Ovoid.



FIG. 39. Beloid.



FIG. 40. Ovoid.

SKULLS FROM HAL SAFLIENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photos, Valletta Museum).

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but probably Arabic of a very ancient kind. Unfortunately, the idea is still too prevalent that language is an indication of race, a prejudice which has led to many pitfalls in European race questions, and still more liable to do so in the consideration of Semitic and Hamitic peoples. The fact that the Maltese speak Arabic does not in the least signify that they are Arabs or even Semites.

Let us bring the matter to the physiological test. I reproduce here, by the favour of my friend Professor Zammit, some typical examples of the skulls found at Hal Saflieni. These are some of the oldest Maltese skulls yet discovered, and it will be seen that they fall exactly into the Sergian scheme (see Figs. 37-40). The eleven skulls of Hal Saflieni, according to my lights, may be classed as follows: Three beloid, two ovoid, five ellipsoid, and one pentagonoid.

We therefore find that the relationships which are judged to exist from a comparison of the Malta monuments and archæological specimens with others belonging to the Eurafrian race is absolutely corroborated by physiological evidence, and I only ask the reader to compare these skulls

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with the typical shapes given in Figs. 1-7. These Maltese skulls, five or six thousand years old, for the date of this culture in Malta is placed at about 3000 B.C., and perhaps it may be set even still further back, are absolutely similar to those illustrated by Sergi, which emanate from Ancient Libya, Egypt, Crete, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and our own islands. They are pure Mediterranean Race skulls.

But what of the skulls of to-day? These are not easy to find, but by courtesy of the Civil Government I was successful in gaining admission to one of the ossuaries of the chief cemetery of Malta, the Addolorata, and found from the examination of a large number that all, with one exception, a brachycephalic sphenoid, were pure examples of the types beloid and ovoid. An examination of the living race corroborates the evidence of the ancient skulls, and the long heads and oval faces of the Maltese bring them naturally within the bounds of the Mediterranean Race as defined by Sergi. Moreover, I visited the famous Chapel of Bones in Valletta, the decorations of which are given out to be the remains of Maltese soldiers who fell in the Turkish wars,

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but according to the best expert evidence are more probably the result of a general exhumation from a neighbouring Maltese cemetery, the site having been required for building purposes. With a few exceptions of an oblong type the large number which I examined were all pure ovoids and beloids.

It would appear, then, from physiological evidence that the Maltese are a comparatively pure race, and not, as is too often supposed, a medley of various nations speaking a composite jargon. Malta is an island and shares with other islands the characteristic immunity from racial change. In the earliest days Malta was off the trade-routes, and until the Phœnicians came we trace little or no foreign influence, and probably there was very little even then. The early pottery and decorations alike attest a culture which has developed of itself without external aids or influence. The only Eastern intercourse that could have obtained from about 2800 B.C. to 1200 B.C. would be with Minoan Crete, for little would be likely to get past these watchful pirates of the thalassocracy ; and after this period the Tyrian influence might begin. But we have not the

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slightest reason to suppose that the Phœnicians here, any more than in Sardinia or in England, established more than depôts for the purposes of trade. The population of Phœnicia could not stand the drain of the multitudinous colonies which are assigned to her, and even in Carthage itself there appears to be abundant historical evidence that the actual colony consisted of a numerically very small aristocracy ruling over a large population of natives. All evidence points to the supposition that the Phœnicians were a trading rather than a colonising people, and, apart from the great folk movements that have from time to time affected the continent of Europe, there could not have existed that overcrowding in ancient times which now actuates the British and the Germans in seeking new areas of subsistence.

Many writers speak of a Greek occupation of the islands, but this is not corroborated by history, and it is curious that it is mentioned by no Greek historian. A certain number of Greek objects naturally found their way to Malta in course of trade, and though some coins bear Greek as well as Roman lettering, they retain the

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Punic symbols, and are all supposed to have been struck for the Maltese by the Romans. The islands became Roman in B.C. 242, a fact which is only casually mentioned by Livy, and the same kind of passing mention is made by Cicero in his accusation of Verres. Diodorus of Sicily, more than two centuries after the Roman occupation, speaks of these islands as still peopled by the Phœnicians. Moreover, the system of burial in tomb-caves and of laying pottery and ornaments with the dead continues throughout the Roman period, for some of these graves contain Roman coins. This coinage has already been referred to, and its nature betokens a desire to afford the population a means of exchange which could be readily understood as bearing the indigenous symbols. Although, therefore, the Roman domination endured over a thousand years, it is probable that the islands were nothing more than a military station. When St. Paul was wrecked on Malta he was well treated by the "barbarians," and he is said to have converted them in three months. As a native of Tarsus he would be acquainted with the Semitic tongue, and the speedy conversion can only be supposed to have

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taken place as a result of his using a language familiar to his hearers. And, whether the Maltese were Phœnicians or not, their language is, even to-day, not far removed from the Punic.

In A.D. 870 the Arabs took Malta, and their domination lasted over two hundred years. In comparing the Maltese islands, however, with Sicily, Spain, and North Africa, we are struck by the absence of Arab monuments ; there are no mosques or common burial grounds, no Moorish buildings. Here, again, there appears to be no evidence to support the existence of anything more than a military station. The insecure hold of the Arabs is shown by the fact that Count Roger, the Norman Crusader, landed with a few ships and only thirteen knights. From this time we have four hundred years' connection with Sicily, but the domination appears to have been merely regarded from the aspect of taxation. In this period the records begin, and the names of the inhabitants as recorded are all Semitic, though the foreign scribes sometimes give them a "Latin" dress ; Hashish (written Haxix) becomes Axisa, Hal-Millieri Camilleri, Tad-Disghein Desain, Ghauci Gauci.

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When in 1530 the islands were ceded to the Knights, the new colony could not have been numerous, for they landed from three galleys and two small vessels. With all their followers they probably would not have numbered more than a thousand at most. A line was marked off, beyond which none but the Knights were allowed to live, so that it is hardly likely that this exclusive and celibate Order, with its small number of dependents, nearly all cooped up in a corner of the island, could greatly affect the country people, who even to-day live in the utmost seclusion and scarcely move from their villages. Of a long list of colonising families very few have survived as separate entities, but have all been absorbed. At present all the foreign names in the island can be traced back to less than a century ago.

Finally, the English are perhaps the most exclusive of all, as is only natural from the fact that Malta is regarded almost entirely as a garrison. If we were to leave to-morrow, in a few years there would probably be no indication in the main body of the Maltese of our ever having occupied the island, save for an ephemeral

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influence entailed by our methods and regime. And although I find that the cephalic index among the Maltese of to-day is higher than that of the Hal Saflieni skulls—that is, they are not so long-headed as in the neolithic days—yet, as I have said, the characteristic skull shapes remain in their purest forms.

Then follows the language question. If the Maltese are such a pure race, how comes it that they do not speak a Hamitic tongue such as is still spoken among the descendants of the ancient Libyans in the Sahara and to the north of it, by the Berbers, and such as was spoken by the ancient Egyptians? I might reply that the long-headed peoples who form the large substratum of a pre-Aryan population in Europe have also lost their language to a race of conquerors who could not have been numerous—so unreliable is language as an indication of race. As Hamitic could not stand against Aryan, neither has it been able to hold its own against Semitic, and I am inclined to think that the languages of the latter family are so simple in form and construction, so easy and natural in their formation of derivatives, and altogether so logical, that they

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have easily ousted the Hamitic wherever they have come into real contact with them. Particularly I would instance the Kabyles, a sturdy Libyan remnant who for centuries have defied the arms and set at nought the customs and influence of extraneous peoples, notably the Arabs and the French, and yet have adopted the Arab language in their schools. On the other hand, it must be remembered that there is an ultimate relationship between Hamitic and Semitic, the latter being probably a derivative of the other.

But the wholesale adoption of a Semitic language among an island population requires more than generalities for an explanation, and as to the facts of the case we are quite in the dark, and have to content ourselves with the most probable theory. My friend M. Roudanovsky, the Imperial Russian Consul in Malta, a learned and original student of Arabic, has done valuable work on the language question, and has outlined his conclusions in a fascinating work, "*Quelques Particularités du Dialecte Arabe de Malte.*" This book has met with severe opposition among the Orientalists of Europe, for it strikes a severe blow at all existing ideas with regard to Maltese, yet

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much of the matter seems to be well founded. This writer, from an elaborate examination of Maltese forms and constructions, finds the language to be extremely ancient, and traces most striking resemblances to Syrian peculiarities. Of the relation to a Syrian *patois* only experts can judge, but his examination of certain simple Maltese words seems to be fairly conclusive on the point that the early form of Arabic introduced was that of a simple nomad people, unused to dwelling in towns.

The idea of dwelling is mainly represented by the word *qâd* (kad), meaning "to sit down." "River" is *Xmara* (Shmara), which M. Roudanovsky holds to be the name of the action taken from the verb *xamar*, "to gird up the clothes for action," and we are introduced to a picturesque and primitive idea of shepherds drawing up their long cloaks in order to follow their flocks across a stream. Malta, by the way, has no rivers. The native name of Gozo is *Hawdesh*, which in Arabic means "a litter on a camel's back," a very passable description of the island as seen from the sea. A "peasant" is still *bidwi* or *bedoin*, "shepherd." The formerly inexplic-

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able Maltese name for "father," *missir* or *missér*, this author very elegantly derives as the instrumental noun from the verb *sar*, "to generate," and "father" becomes "the instrument of procreation." This word *missér* is interesting as being unknown in Arabic, and therefore presumably older than current speech or records.

"Priest" is *kassis* and "priestly" is *qsusi*, this being the adjectival form of *qsus*, "shepherd," and we are reminded of the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings. *Rahal* and *hal* are words for a certain class of villages, and they are connected by M. Roudanovsky with *ra*, "to see," and *hal*, "a tent." Without either accepting or disputing this, the connection of the words with *merhla*, "a fold," *rahhal*, "a shepherd," and *rahal*, "a breeder," seems indicative of a time when country villages were no other than pastoral camps. All this points to an introduction of the language at a time anterior to the foundation of cities—that is, earlier than the times of Phœnician colonisation known to history.

M. Roudanovsky would connect the introduction of Arabic into Malta with an old Maltese

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legend which tells of the expulsion of a tribe from Palestine by Joshua about B.C. 1585. This might certainly explain the belief of the Maltese that they are Phœnicians, but the legend itself does not appear to be confined to Malta, for a similar one is recorded by Procopius to account for Phœnician colonies around the Pillars of Hercules. Apart from the existence of this legend, if it be necessary to suppose a definite immigration, such might well be connected with the movements of the Hyksos and the Hittites, and several particulars lead me to prefer such an idea to M. Roudanovsky's—namely, the uncertainty of the *locus* of the legend, the extreme difficulty that a small tribe of shepherds would in the above circumstances find in reaching Malta either by sea or land, and several others which may be gathered later.

To make this theory clear it will be necessary to say something of the Hittites and their country. Sergi falls in, except for certain reservations, with the views of de Cara in regard to this mysterious people, familiar to us from the Bible, and noted for their numerous monuments and sculptures throughout Syria and Asia Minor. He holds that



FIG. 41. Ellipsoid.

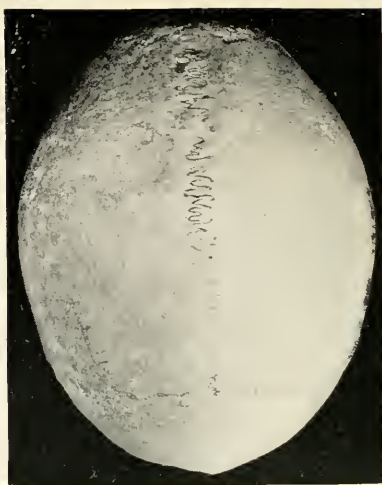


FIG. 42. Ellipsoid.



FIG. 43. Pentagonoid.



FIG. 44. Pentagonoid.

PHENICIAN SKULLS, VALLETTA MUSEUM.

(Photos, T. M. Salmond, Esq.)

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they are a branch of the Mediterranean Race who split off into Syria, wandered through Northern Arabia, came in contact with Babylon, and made their influence felt from Palestine to the Black Sea. They were probably influenced by Babylonian culture and had much in common with the Phœnicians. It seems probable, however, that the Phœnicians were merely a particularised branch of the Hittites themselves, for they have most of the characteristics of this people, skill in handicrafts and governmental organisation, but they underwent Semitic influence and adopted a Semitic language. From an examination of their skulls made by Sergi they appear to be of the Libyan stock. There are several Phœnician skulls in the Valletta Museum, found in the characteristic tombs with the special Punic pottery and furniture, and an examination I made of these gave the following results: (1) ellipsoid, (2) beloid, (3) pentagonoid, (4) ovoid, (5) acute pentagonoid, (6) another beloid. Illustrations of a few characteristic types are given in Figs. 41-44.

If these skulls are genuinely Phœnician, this seems proof that the Phœnicians belonged to the Mediterranean Race; if they are not Phœnician,

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the fact only serves to show the permanence of race continuity in Malta. As regards the Hittites, however, a consideration of the history and monuments of Syria tends further to confirm their Libyan relationship. The ancient Egyptian name for Syria was Luden or Ruten, and its people are represented as light-coloured on the Egyptian monuments, and their women are shown as wearing the familiar flounced petticoat. Their gods were Set and Istar, the former being the same as the Egyptian Seti, the god of night, and Istar became the famous Ashtoreth of the Phœnicians. The country east of the Jordan possesses many dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs, while cave-dwellings and tells or mounds, artificial and natural, are common. A more specialised form of worship occurs with the Phœnicians, who venerated the cone within the temple or enclosure, and also the pillar. The cone of Aphrodite is found in Cyprus, and a Phœnician temple there has a semicircular forecourt; near Galilee is a hypæthral court with a cone of veneration; and the prevalence of unsquared stonework and of the false arch, formed by corbelling, show relationships with African

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culture. Like the Egyptians and the Maltese, the Phœnicians placed images of their goddess in tombs as amulets. All this shows a Libyan relationship, and the blond colour suggested by the Egyptian monuments is the same as that given to the Libyans and corresponds with the accounts of the latter given by Herodotus and Scylax ; a large proportion of the Berber population is blond to this day.

It appears, then, that this vast tract of territory was occupied by a Hamitic people, who became differentiated through association with Asiatic neighbours, and that a branch of the former, still further specialised, became the Phœnicians. It is also possible that the Jews may be connected to some extent with the same people, and it is perhaps significant that the Maltese still call them Ludi. This view seems to gain some corroboration in the recent work of Dr. Cheyne, "The Two Religions of Israel," which, while pointing to a North Arabian origin of the Jews, strives to maintain that the worship of Jahveh or Jehovah was but a specialised, more liberal, and more moral form of the conventional, idolatrous, and superstitious

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religion of Baal. The soothsaying, the formality, the love of images and forms is, however, characteristic of the Hamitic religion, of which the worship of Baal is but a particular phase ; and we could still imagine all the denunciations of the Hebrew prophets to be directed against just that form of worship the evidences of which remain in Malta, Crete, and North Africa. As there must have been some distinguishing factor leading a race to adopt the single, more moral and more liberal deity and to break away from the old tradition, we may suppose that it was the contact with the Asiatic Armenoids which caused the specialisation in worship, as it may have affected the physical characters of the race itself.

The Hittites were long the leaders in Syria and Asia Minor and gathered together great confederations against Egypt. Allied with them were the Phœnicians, among others, at the battle of Megiddo, and it is probable that the Hyksos, the shepherd kings, who finally invaded and ruled Egypt for a period, were, if not actually Hittite, at any rate closely associated with them. De Cara believes that they were actually Hittites,

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but their name, in ancient Arabic "the shepherds," tends to show that they did not at least speak Hamitic as the Hittites are supposed to have done. We can imagine, however, that the people who subdued Egypt were a powerful confederation, connected in some way with the Hittites and containing some Semitic-speaking peoples. The Hyksos domination in Egypt endured from about 2000 to 1700 B.C., or may have been earlier ; there is no great certainty about early Egyptian dates. Finally they were driven out, possibly back to Syria, but it is not at all unlikely that part may have been cut off and compelled to seek homes and shelter in the inhospitable tracts to the west of the Nile. In course of their wanderings they would come to the ancient representatives of the Kabyles, who, if worthy of their descendants, would show them no mercy, and hence they might have made their way across to Malta, a name which is pure Arabic for a "refuge." It is curious that there is a legend current in Tunis that the Maltese are from that place ; it is thence that the refugees may have made their embarkation, and this theory would also account for the use of the pure Maltese

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dialect, according to Father Magri, in certain places in North Africa.

There appears to be only one occasion during the Cretan dominance when a Semitic invasion could have taken place by sea, and that is actually at the time of the Hyksos dynasty in Egypt; for it is then that a Phœnician colony was probably founded in the Delta, and there is an interchange during that period of merchandise between Crete and Egypt. The nomadic character of the language, however, rather militates against the idea that there was a direct Phœnician immigration into Malta during this period.

It is useless, however, to attempt to particularise on a subject which we can probably never know much about, and it would be safer to set aside any definite theories and to adopt the position that language and culture point to a secondary migration of a related but Semitic-speaking people from Syria or Asia Minor.

We may consider, therefore, that the people who gave their language to Malta were practically of the same race as the original inhabitants, but joined their relatives after many wanderings and varied experiences, and it may be that their ethnic

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character was not uninfluenced by Armenoid contact, an association which may have affected their dolichocephaly, if that cannot be held to be an ordinary evolutionary process; for as the short-headed peoples have asserted their superiority in Europe over the dolichocephals, thereby proving themselves in certain respects the fitter race, it is not unlikely that the working out of natural selection in course of time would tend to the broadening of the skull and the gradual elimination of the extremely long-headed type, while leaving the Sergian characteristics of the skulls unaltered.

Arguments have been adduced to show that the introduction of the Semitic language into Malta was very ancient, but perhaps the best indication of all is the topographical nomenclature of the islands. If, as some suppose, Arabic was introduced by the Saracens, it is quite incredible that this people should have altered every name, even in the remotest country districts, especially as their hold on the islands seems to have been both light and ephemeral. Except for quite recent place-names the nomenclature in the whole group is entirely Semitic. A comparison with Sicily

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makes the supposition still more improbable, for the Saracens established a very firm and enduring regime in that island, and have left their monuments there, yet the old Greek names persist to this day. It is therefore impossible to conclude otherwise than that the Semitic language in Malta dates back to very early times. In further corroboration the place-name Bur Meghez is again referred to. It will be remembered that this means "The Waste Place of Deer or Goats," and that Professor Tagliaferro found there the bones of the former animal in a neolithic burial-place. It seems almost safe to conclude from this that a Semitic language was used in neolithic times, for the deer is characteristically neolithic in Malta.

But if Semitic is derived from Hamitic parentage, why may it not be supposed that it developed naturally from Hamitic in Malta and was not introduced by a new people? Such a view, in a modified form, might very well be argued, but I think that the fact of the Kabyles of North Africa still speaking a Hamitic language rather militates against its acceptance. The people who came direct to Malta from Africa

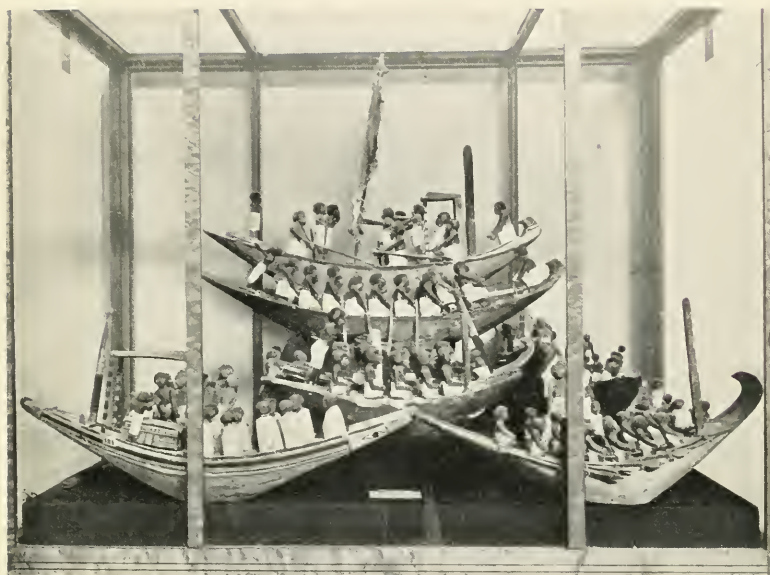


FIG. 45. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BOATS OF THE DEAD, CAIRO MUSEUM.
Note the eye on the prow.

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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would pass through a region where Hamitic remains to this day, and it is impossible to conceive that in an island the language would become changed more than on the mainland, where it would be subjected to more extraneous influences. Again, it is difficult to suppose that such a widely spread language as Arabic could arise independently in an island area.

The permanence of culture from the very earliest times is very noticeable in Malta, but, nevertheless, some indications of a slight breach have already been hinted at, and these might be very well explained by the theory of a secondary migration. Perhaps the physical characters of the people themselves, however, are the best indication of such having taken place. In the towns the type usually met with is heavy, full-fleshed, with dark hair and eyes, impassive and Oriental in character ; among the peasants and seafaring population are more often seen the thin, wiry, sharp, and mobile-featured men, with rather turned-up nose, reminiscent of certain of our own islanders. Among the latter are found many with blue or grey eyes, especially in the remote country districts, and most of all

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in Gozo. These might very well represent the more ancient element which came direct from Africa, their grey eyes being a heritage from the Libyans, and the shape of the nose connecting them with the ancient Cretans and modern Berbers. A Maltese proverb still speaks of the grey eyes which steal the people from the streets.

It is probable that most of the culture pertaining to the earlier race remained undisturbed. The *dghaisa*, or ordinary rowing-boat, retains the high poop and prow of the Minoan craft and bears a resemblance to the boats of the dead of ancient Egypt, discovered in the tombs. The design on a jar from Cordin appears to represent craft of a somewhat similar pattern. In Figs. 45 and 48 four instances may be compared, and it will be observed that the modern Maltese boat still bears what Professor Tylor holds to be the eye of Osiris, also seen on the ancient Egyptian models; the Gozo boats nearly all have this. Osiris is probably Libyan, and so may be nearer home in Malta than in Africa, an opinion corroborated by Maltese folklore.

Another Minoan feature is the simultaneous use of sweep and sail, an ordinary means of



FIG. 46. PREHISTORIC JAR FROM CORDIN, ORNAMENTED
WITH (?) BOATS, VALLETTA MUSEUM ($\frac{1}{5}$).

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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propulsion in the Gozo boats. But where evidences of the permanence of evolution from prehistoric times continually meet the eye it is difficult to select particular examples. I might mention, however, that walls are still constructed in Malta with large irregular stones, often fitted beautifully together as in the ancient sanctuaries, that horns still adorn the roofs, and that the same annular cavities for tying up animals and the fastening of cords are observable in the walls of the houses to-day as are found in the temples and neolithic caves.

In the domain of religion we have every reason to believe that the fundamental ideas of the newer and older peoples were the same. This may account for the continuity in the modes of burial and for the use of earlier tombs by the later people. It would also explain the absence of any evidence of desecration ; but the names of two of the sanctuaries seem to imply that they were given by a people who had become strangers to the original intention of the structures : Hagiar Kim, "The Upright Stones," and Mnajdra, "The Little Look-out," have no touch of sacredness about them.

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Syrian relationships in the language have been observed upon by M. Roudanovsky, and Father Magri, a great student of the subject, held that the home of the language as well as of the people was in the land of the Phœnicians. He says that the people of Bxerri on Mount Lebanon maintain that the Maltese came thence, whereas the Maltese country people, especially those of Gozo, hold fast to a Phœnician tradition ; he also states that the people of Algiers call the Maltese Syrians, and have a tradition that both fled from the East together. Around the Gigantia the country folk still believe that a golden calf is buried somewhere about the ruins ; and, on the whole, it is very difficult to get away from this idea of some kind of Eastern connection ; it will be seen that much of the folklore corroborates it. The common use of the personal names Carmelo, Carmela, is referred to by Father Magri as showing a connection with the country of Mount Carmel, and this author also holds that the very usual family and place name Attard is derived from Astarte.

In a subsequent chapter I try to establish the existence of a Semitic strain in the English



FIG. 47. MODERN MALTESE DGHASAS.
(There is an eye near the flag on the prow.)

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)



FIG. 48. GOZO BOAT.
(Note the eye.)

(Photo, T. D. Le Rougetel, Esq.)

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language, and the majority of the words I instance in this connection are found in Maltese ; this points in the same direction as the legends connecting Æneas's progeny with England and the Irish with the Phœnicians. It has further been maintained by some authors that the neolithic culture of Spain and Portugal is practically early Phœnician. It may therefore be imagined that the Hamitic predecessors of the Phœnicians of history sailed through the Mediterranean, taking Malta and Spain on their way, and reached our islands by way of Ireland and the western coasts. Mrs. J. R. Green holds that the Gaelic civilisation in Ireland came direct from Western Europe, and this may well have followed an earlier route already marked out.

It has already been suggested that the grey-eyed people of Malta may represent the older inhabitants ; if this is so, the possibility of a similar double stream of population has to be considered in other and remoter settling places of the Eurafrian people ; and if the theory is not extended in this way, it is at least of great interest to note a similarity of phenomena in widely separated areas. In the West of Ireland,

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and also among the Highlanders of Scotland, these blue-eyed people are to be found. The islanders of Galway and Mayo are fairer in hair and complexion than the people of the mainland. In Galway blue eyes with black hair are found, as in Malta. In Arran are met people with ruddy complexions and light brown hair, mostly dolichocephalic. Mr. Borlase, in "The Dolmens of Ireland," describes the "old" Irish type as short, square, with broadish head, cocked noses, an impish drollery in the eyes, possessed of cunning, quickness, and wit. The reader is invited to compare the three "excavators" in Gozo, in the foreground of Fig. 49, with this description. When the people were gathered round the work at Santa Verna an English observer, probably totally unacquainted with Mediterranean Race theories, remarked that they looked just like Irish. The man in the background of the picture represents the more ordinary dark type. Fig. 50 shows two peasant girls of Imtahleb, a very isolated spot in Malta. They have blue eyes, and their features seem to form a link between Africa and Ireland.

The "Finnish" Fomorian of Donegal have



FIG. 49. GREY-EYED GOZO MEN.
(In the foreground.)



FIG. 50. BLUE-EYED PEASANT GIRLS OF INTAHLEB,
MALTA.
(Photo, Dr. F. A. King.)

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a traditional African origin. They are extremely dolichocephalic. In West Kerry also grey eyes and dark hair are met with.

We know that the Phœnicians passed through the Pillars of Hercules, and that they came as far as Cornwall, and in doing so they probably followed more ancient trade-routes marked out by earlier migrations; but the pre-Phœnicians consisted of people who were Eurafricans or Hamites, or a race nearly akin. The "Brown Race" of Professor Elliot Smith embraced ancient Arabs and even the Sumerians at the head of the Persian Gulf, but all belonged or were related to the Hamitic peoples. The original Arabs were probably not Semites, and only became Semitised through contact and admixture with the short-headed Asiatic Armenoids in Asia Minor. From such contact and admixture the Semitic languages probably arose out of the Hamitic. The Maltese immigrants from the East appear to be just such people as described above, Hamites in a Semitic garb.

The presence of jade and obsidian objects in Malta is also important in this connection, the former suggesting a connection with Turkestan

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and the latter with Melos. The absence of other objects of commerce points to these having been brought by original migrants from the East, and both could be accounted for on the theory put forward, Melos being on the route from and Turkestan possibly within reach of Asia Minor. Other indications of the current will be observed in later chapters, when language, dolmens, and folklore are dealt with.

THE HAL SAFLIENI SKULLS IN
ANOTHER LIGHT

CHAPTER X

THE HAL SAFLIENI SKULLS IN ANOTHER LIGHT

PROFESSOR SERGI's treatment of skulls is of a special nature, and is most useful for tracing the history and movements of the Eurafrian and Eurasian peoples ; but in view of the extended horizon opened up in the history of mankind by recent discoveries of ancient skulls, particularly in our own islands, it may be well to add a word or two as to the broader relationships of prehistoric man in Malta to various early specimens. The general subject has been admirably summarised by Professor Arthur Keith in "Ancient Types of Man," and the following observations are largely based on this interesting little work.

If we are to accept Professor Keith's estimate of the age of the Tilbury Man, a comparatively recent specimen of the river-bed type, and quite modern in most of its characteristics, our

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accepted age for the Maltese skulls, dated about 3000 B.C., pales into insignificance before his 30,000 years, arrived at by calculations of the time necessary for the various geological changes wrought in the Thames Valley. The Maltese skulls are neolithic and comparatively recent, and palæolithic man, though possibly yet to be found in the Ghar Dalam cavern, has not been discovered in Malta. Nevertheless, even in these skulls we are able to trace some relationships with older types, and since there seem to have been successive waves of population from the south northwards, following the retreat of the glacial ice at various periods, the question is not without interest if regard be had to the geographical position of Malta.

The earliest type yet discovered having any claims to humanity is the *Pithecanthropus erectus* found in the Pliocene formation of Java. Much doubt has been cast upon him, but Professor Keith is now inclined to raise him to a position in our ranks under the style of *Homo Javanensis*. The fossilised cranium with its low crown and retreating forehead is certainly very ape-like, but it bears a very striking resemblance

The Hal Saffieni Skulls

to the earliest skulls of the Pleistocene period, which are undoubtedly human. These may be broadly called Neanderthaloid, after one of the latest and most developed specimens of the class, the Neanderthal skull. The characteristics of this type are a low and retreating forehead, prominent brow-ridges, receding chin, massive jaw, all combined with low stature. The oldest of the category is the Gibraltar skull, probably dating from the commencement of the Pleistocene or Glacial Age, and this is followed in chronological order by the Heidelberg, Krapina, Spy, and Neanderthal skulls, the last belonging to the third of the postulated four interglacial periods; true Neanderthal man was contemporary with the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, and used tools and implements, such as scrapers and awls, of what is called the Mousterian type. The cephalic index of the skulls ranges from 70 to 75·3; that is, they are dolichocephalic.

To this same period is assigned the famous Galley Hill skull of our own islands, but it is of an entirely different type. Although it is very dolichocephalic (69), the forehead is high, the teeth and jaw, and indeed most other characters,

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fairly normal and modern. Although this is probably the most ancient English specimen of mankind, he may probably be regarded as the ancestor of river-bed man generally, and of most long-headed men of modern Europe. He has continental relatives, the Brünn, Combe Capelle, and Grimaldi men, the two last, the Grimaldi in especial, being characterised by certain negroid features. This, of course, does not mean that they were descended from negroes, but rather that they belonged to a type, dwelling originally somewhere south of Europe, from which both whites and negroes are derived.

The Galley Hill type necessarily persists through the fourth interglacial or Magdalenian period to which Professor Deniker assigns the Chancelade skull; this he calls the second Quaternary type, the Neanderthal being the first. Matters have advanced since "The Races of Man" was written, and the Chancelade skull becomes merged in the Galley Hill type. It is important for our purpose, however, to give a few details of the Chancelade skull. Its main characters are a high, broad forehead, high orbits, and high, broad cheekbones. The cephalic index has about the same range

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as that of the Neanderthal skull. The stature was low.

The characteristic skull of the Magdalenian period, however, is an entirely new type, that of Cro-Magnon, found originally in France, and since in other parts of Europe. These men were physically some of the finest who ever trod this earth. They were very tall, the face was short and wide, the cheek-bones prominent, the chin narrow and pointed. Although the head was extremely long (index 63-74·8) there was a compactness about the face suggestive of power and command. The features generally, having something in common with the Mongols and Esquimaux, seem to be perpetuated in certain cases to the present day.

The Magdalenian period shows a considerable advance on its predecessor. Reindeer bones are now found, and we have tools of bone and flint arrow-heads. To this age belong the famous carvings on bone, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum.

There are eleven skulls from Hal Saffieni in the Valletta Museum, and the question arises whether we can fit them in to any particular type.

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Their cephalic indices are as follows : 75·1, 74·4, 72·9, 75·1, 68·5, 76·5, 66·0, 72·1, 70·3, 67·5, one undetermined, but probably below 66. All are therefore dolichocephalic except three, which are sub-dolichocephalic. In spite of their dolichocephaly, however, one thing is certain : they have nothing in common with the Cro-Magnon skulls, nor does the stature suggest any such relationship. Six, as regards dolichocephaly, fall within the Chancelade limits, three being below and one above. In general characteristics they seem to approximate most closely to this type of the wider Galley Hill class. A representative specimen is given in Fig. 51. Two, however, have the thick skull, low forehead, prominent brow-ridges, and heavy muscular attachments characteristic of Neanderthal race (Fig. 52), although the excessive dolichocephaly and the convexity of the forehead are foreign to this type. The persistence of such features is not at all strange, as they are found in rare cases even at the present day.

There is one specimen which was found at Hagiar Kim in 1839, under circumstances not recorded. This is interesting as being a pure negroid skull. If it is genuinely prehistoric,

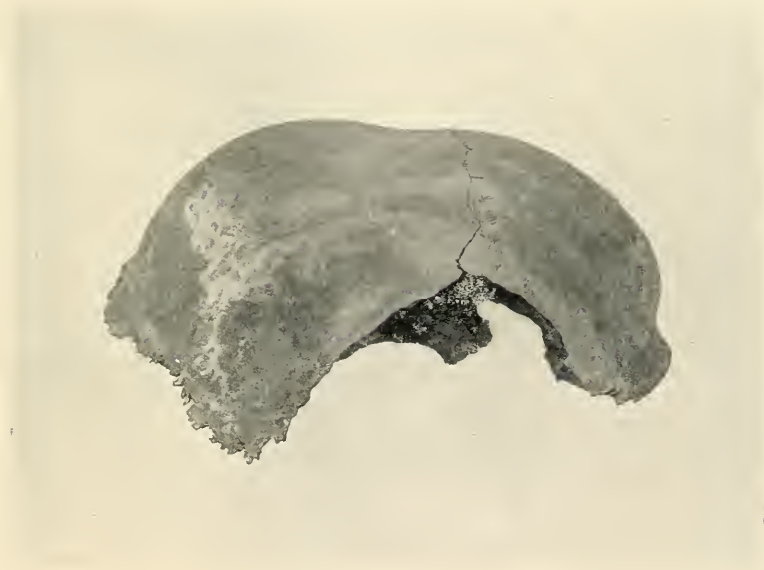


FIG. 52. SKULL FROM HAL SAELENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.
(Photo, Valletta Museum.)



FIG. 51. SKULL FROM HAL SAELENI, VALLETTA MUSEUM.
(Photo, Valletta Museum.)

The Hal Saffieni Skulls

certain interesting speculations naturally arise. First it would show that the Eurafrican and negroid races had at this period definitely separated. Its isolated position is curious. This man belonged to a strange people: why, we may ask, should his skull be buried in the sanctuary? Cannibalism is not definitely proven against the neolithic peoples, but Professor Budge in his latest work, "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," has shown that the influence of the god who forms the subject of the book was directed against cannibalism, and we are not inclined to regard the ancient Maltese as more advanced than the kindred Egyptians. Moreover, at Santa Verna, beside the complete skeletons I found several human bone-heaps in which a few animal bones were apparent. Of course, as at Bur Meghez, such a circumstance may be due to an old burial being disturbed to make room for a new one, and the original bones being dealt with somewhat unceremoniously, so nothing can be said with any certainty on the point.

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that black races were treated with some kind of awe and reverence. In Kabylia it is lucky if a black

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man can be found to lift the newly married bride into the saddle ; with us, it is lucky to meet a sweep on certain occasions—possibly a survival of some kindred tradition ; and the Maltese seem to look on negroes not unfavourably. So it is possible that this black stranger was buried with special ceremony in the sanctuary ; yet this does not preclude the possibility of his having been eaten, but may rather involve it.

Finally, it may be suggested that the finding in England of the ancient Galley Hill man and the river-bed specimens rather invalidates the Sergian theory of a population of our islands migrating from Africa, bringing a definite culture. I think, however, that it rather tends to strengthen the theory, inasmuch as wave after wave of population seems to have swept up North as the glaciers retreated. Though Galley Hill man is found so early in Britain, he did not necessarily remain there throughout the Glacial Age, but he more probably came and went, or succumbed and was followed by others. Yet even if Britain remained populated, we cannot deny the existence of certain very definite streams of culture, as instanced and argued in other chapters.

SUGGESTED EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES

CHAPTER XI

SUGGESTED EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES

IN a singularly interesting little work, "The Ancient Egyptians," Professor Elliot Smith has a word to say on Malta. He shows the great influence which the use of copper had upon Egypt in the substitution of metal for stone tools and the consequent early impetus given to building. This influence, he holds, gradually leavened the whole of the Mediterranean littoral, and in two ways: first in a subtle and gradual manner, being passed on from tribe to tribe, and affecting the peoples, all of kindred origin, each in its own way, and in the development of its own culture; secondly, through Asiatic middlemen, traces of whom are found in Egypt about 3000 B.C., who spread the knowledge of bronze into Europe and North Africa. In one of these two methods this author holds that a certain impetus was given to megalithic building, and that the rock-cut

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tomb, the dolmen, and the flat instead of the flexed position of burial were introduced into various countries. Such an explanation is held to clear up the difficulty experienced by Peet as regards the sudden appearance of the rock-cut tomb, the dolmen, and the new form of burial in Sicily ; and here Professor Smith holds that direct immigration may have taken place, for in Sicily, no less than in North Africa, new types of skull begin to appear simultaneously with the changes.

Malta and the islands of the western Mediterranean are held to have undergone the influence, and we must suppose it to be of the former rather than the latter kind. Against an introduction of a new culture by Asiatics the evidence of the Maltese skulls so far seems clear. The "foreign" skulls of Egypt have certain definite characteristics ; the *ramus* of the jaw, the part which runs down from the skull to the horizontal portion, is long and deeply indented at the top ; the eye sockets are set in far more obliquely than in the native Eurafrican skulls. Up to the present I have been able to trace no such characteristics

Suggested Egyptian Influences

in the neolithic Maltese skulls ; and of course this is quite in accordance with Professor Smith's theory.

A rather extraordinary situation arises in that the dolmen and the rock-cut tomb in North Africa and Sicily belong to the æneolithic or early Copper Age, and in the latter country copper is actually found in association with them ; and yet we find no copper in Malta in this period, although we have dolmens and rock tombs in abundance. It is difficult on the one hand to see how the dolmen should be introduced without copper, if it came with this same current ; and on the other hand, why precisely the same development should arise in Malta as in these other localities if it were a natural internal evolution.

Then, again, it seems curious that no dolmens are found in Egypt, nor do we find anything there which in any way resembles the Maltese structures. Of course, this hardly invalidates the theory that there may have been an influence which gave people a special stimulus to develop upon their own lines. Yet it seems difficult to think that Egypt of the pyramidal times should

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have been the cause of a development in dolmens, rock-cut tombs, or the Maltese sanctuaries. The last appear contemporary with cave dwellings, and the people who developed them seem to have been by no means late in time; and some, at least, of the rock tombs seem to belong to the period of the sanctuaries.

We have already seen how a cave dwelling would develop into a hypogeum, and, given plenty of time and leisure, its elaboration is easily understood. And Hal Saflieni has its dolmens, which, later, appear to be carried above ground.

Still, it is not reasonable to maintain that there was no external influence upon Malta, and particular forms of rock tombs and of table dolmens may have resulted. It has already been suggested that the language was imported into Malta, and here, I think, we may find further light upon the subject. Dolmens are indeed found in abundance in North Africa, but they are no less plentiful in Syria, a point which does not seem to have been sufficiently noticed; and not only they, but stone circles, cairns, and menhirs. If Egypt was the starting-point of this culture we

Suggested Egyptian Influences

might reasonably expect to find some definite remains of the kind there. If these structures are to be regarded as part of a natural evolution, it would be too much of a coincidence to expect them to arise in so many distant places at once.

It is only reasonable to think that some current must have set up along the Mediterranean between these places in which dolmens, menhirs, and the like are found, and, since there is no evidence of such from the West, it must have run the other way. Language, culture, tradition bear this out for Malta, and almost as much can be said for Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Spain, Brittany, and the British Isles. In such a way the Semitic names in Brittany could be explained, no less than the *alignements*, stone circles, menhirs, and the like, all actually found in Syria, and presumably there before they arose in the West. Such a theory might account in part for certain developments in the Maltese monuments and sanctuaries. In fact, wherever tradition tells of visits of the Phœnicians, there we seem to find evidence of a prior or pre-Phœnician culture.

Yet it would be foolish to doubt Professor

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Smith's main theory of the great prestige of Egypt ; the particular question as regards Malta is mainly that of the current, and its precise starting-point and direction. The African origin of the Mediterranean Race still holds the field, but, from the evidences before us, it seems highly probable that an important branch passed into Syria and doubled back through the Mediterranean. The first migrants may have crossed into Europe by way of Gibraltar and Malta, but, as regards Malta at least, further culture seems to proceed from another direction, and we have to seek its origin in the East.

One of the Asiatic traits referred to by Professor Smith, not, however, found in Egypt, is the practice of incineration, and this seems to be the first indication in Malta of the foreign influence. It is significant that the custom does not appear there until Phœnician times, that is, after 1000 B.C. In the square rock-cut tombs of this period this method of burial is found combined with that of laying the body flat on the back, sometimes in the same tomb.

SEMITIC LANGUAGE TRACES

CHAPTER XII

SEMITIC LANGUAGE TRACES

THE use of a Semitic language by a people apparently in the main Hamitic leads to further speculation and to a doubt as to whether this language can be safely regarded as a criterion of race at all. The Phœnicians spoke Semitic, but it is questionable whether they were altogether Semites, and, on the whole, it would seem more likely that the branch of the Mediterranean Race which pressed into Asia Minor, on coming into contact with the Armenoids or other races in the various opportune meeting-places in the West of Asia, so modified their language as to completely change it, or adopted a more convenient form of speech. It is accepted, on the one hand, that there is an affinity between the Hamitic and Semitic languages if we push back far enough; and, on the other, that Hamitic, particularly among the North African peoples,

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is extremely unstable. Semitic, with its logical and easy inflexions and simple verb forms, would easily recommend itself to the exclusion of more primitive forms of speech.

The language brought and developed by the Greeks was one of great richness and beauty, but, just as beneath their worship the gleam of an older eschatology appears, so it is not impossible to trace Semitic influences in their speech. For instance, some of the tenses of the irregular verb "to see" appear to be borrowed from the Semitic, the *ra*, still in general use by the Maltese, being seen in the form 'orao. Is it possible that other links in the chain could be found in the direction marked out by the course of megalithic culture?

In our own islands, when the Aryan Celts took possession, they may have slain many of the male pre-Aryan inhabitants; but it would be only reasonable to expect that they would keep alive many of the women, who would become the mothers and the nurses of a new generation. It would be only natural for this offspring to learn the language of their fathers, but in the light of the syntax of the mothers who taught them. And

Semitic Language Traces

among the Welsh, themselves in turn driven into the wilds by a new horde of conquerors, evidences of such a phenomenon have been discovered by Professor Morris Jones and published in an Appendix to "The Welsh People." Though the Welsh language is undoubtedly Aryan, this writer establishes many remarkable relationships between its syntax and that of the Hamitic language of early Egypt. Startling as this might seem, it is only a link in the chain which binds together the Eurafrican or "Mediterranean" peoples.

Now whether the reason be that in these early times the division between the Hamitic and Semitic languages was not very clear, or whether it be that the phenomenon argues a wave of population later than those who spoke Hamitic, I feel pretty confident that we have in our language definite ancient traces of Arabic or Semitic. The fact that the English words to which I assign such an origin are largely derived through Celtic is quite in accordance with the general views expressed in this book ; and, whereas others find their way to us through Scandinavian, this only agrees with the data of

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Sergi, who finds some of the best Eurafrican types in the Viking skulls of Scandinavia. The course of the language is largely that of the megalithic culture, the path followed later by the Phœnicians, and the line is along the Mediterranean, through Malta, touching Sicily, through Sardinia and the Balearics, to Spain, Portugal, Brittany, Ireland and the west of the British Isles, and, finally, Scandinavia.

In the "Canons of Etymology" prefaced to his Etymological Dictionary of the English Language Professor Skeat observes: "The history of a nation accounts for the constituent parts of its language. When an early English word is compared with Hebrew or Coptic, as used to be done in the *old* editions of Webster's dictionary, history is set at defiance; and it was a good deed to clear the later editions of all such rubbish." No one can disagree with the principle of this statement, but, owing to the change in the historical outlook, its application is naturally open to revision. An occupation of Europe by Hamites has been established, and these people have left marks, linguistic and otherwise, upon the record of their successors. In Malta a

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Hamitic people has talked a Semitic language probably from prehistoric times, so that now we have every justification in looking for Semitic vestiges in any European language, and these especially at the various points where we have to suspect contact. This would probably take place (1) in South Russia, and, to a large extent, before the diffusion of the Aryans, or at least the splitting up of the Teutons ; and, accordingly, Semitic words are found in Aryan generally, in Teutonic generally, and my friend M. Roudanovsky, a distinguished student of both Arabic and Maltese, has discovered important traces in Russian. (2) In Greek. (3) In Latin : here the influence is very marked. (4) In Spain and Portugal. (5) In Western France. (6) In our own islands. In the Celtic of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and also of Brittany, I find the strongest local Semitic influence ; and this is just what we should expect from archæological evidence. The Celts, as the first Aryan invaders of these parts, should retain the strongest traces of the conquered peoples, and many things point to the conclusion that a very strong admixture of the two races took place. It will be remembered that

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it is in Welsh that vestiges of Hamitic syntax are strongly marked. (7) In Scandinavia. Here, too, archæological evidence is borne out by language, and the Semitic strain is very apparent.

The Semitic words in our language, therefore, we may expect to reach us through these various channels—Celtic, Scandinavian, Teutonic, Aryan generally, and Latin. The examples are partly my own, but for a large number I have to thank the Abbé Sebhiani, Professor of Arabic at Malta University. Just as Professor Skeat in regard to words such as *bad* and *target* recognised the Semitic, but was unable to accept it owing to the absence of a point of contact before the Crusades, so M. Sebhiani had observed numerous close similarities between Arabic and English, but had been unable to press them for lack of a theory as to how they got into English. Now that this difficulty is removed we hope to pursue the subject together. M. Roudanovsky is also a strong protagonist of the theory of vestigial Semitic in Aryan languages, and he has given me several examples, but his explanation that the phenomenon is due to contact between the Teutons and Arabs in South Russia does not

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cover the whole ground, as it does not explain how the Semitic comes into English so often through the Celtic, nor why it is so strong in such an outlying country as our own. Professor Zammit suggested the important words *heifer*, *mirror*, and some others, and has been very kind in giving me Maltese parallels.

Although I have at hand several hundred examples, I confine myself to a few instances, hoping that some interest may be aroused in this vitally important, though somewhat revolutionary, idea. First of all, the accepted derivation according to Professor Skeat is given, and afterwards the suggested Semitic source. In transliteration from Arabic *q* is used for *Qaf*, the guttural *k*; *ā* for *Ayn*, a deep, guttural sound as is heard in the broad pronunciation of the vulgar *blimey*; *ṛ* for *Rayn*, much the same, but rolled; and *ġ* for soft *g*.

ASH (tree). Anglo-Saxon *aesc*. Teutonic relationships. Remoter origin unknown.

Arabic *āsh(th)*, *slender tree*, from *āsh*, *to nest*, it being a favourite nesting-tree.

BABY. Celtic *baban*, *a babe*. From Welsh *mab*, *a son* ✓ MAGH, *to augment*.

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Arabic *baban*, *fat baby*, which seems to be the origin of the Celtic *baban*.

BAD. Middle-English *bad*, *badde* (Robert of Gloucester). The Persian *bad* (wicked) can hardly have been known to Robert of Gloucester. Probably Celtic. Cornish *bad* (foolish). Perhaps connected with Latin *peior* (= *ped-ior*), *worse*.

Arabic *bath-y*, *bad^o-y* = *bad*. Persian *bad*.

BARREL. Old French *bareil*. Seems to be Celtic. Welsh *baril*. Welsh *bar*, a bar.

Arabic *barmyl*, a barrel. Maltese *barmil*, a bucket.

Semitic to Celtic.

BARREN. Old French *baraigne*. Etymology unknown.

Arabic *bar*, *bauran*, to remain uncultivated; *bur*, waste land. Maltese *bur*.

BASE (low). French *bas*. Low-Latin *bassus*. Probably Celtic. Cornish *bas*, shallow; Breton *baz*.

Arabic *bais*, to be unhappy, poor; *abas*, to be abased.

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BLACK. Anglo-Saxon *blac*. Teutonic relationships. Perhaps connected with “*to blow*.”

Arabic *baliq*, *to be spotted white and black*; *ablaq*, *variegated*. Maltese *iblak*.

BOAST. Celtic. Welsh *bost*, *a bragging*.

Arabic *basat*, *to dilate, stretch the arm*.
Semitic to Celtic.

BODY. “That which confines the soul” (Skeat).
A.S. *bod-ig* and Gaelic *bodhaig* ✓ BHADH,
to bind.

BODICE. A corruption of “bodies.”
(Vulgarly “body” is used for “bodice.”)

Arabic *badan*, *body, short gown*.

Professor Skeat’s explanation seems to
metaphysical.

BROOK. A.S. *bróc* + Dutch *broek*, *marsh, pool*,
+ Old High German *pruoch*, *marsh, bog*.
From the root of *break*, because the water
breaks up the ground.

Arabic *birakt*, *birak*, *pool*. Originally a
place where camels *knelt* down to water.
This is nearer to the Old High German.

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BUSS. Old German *bussen*, to kiss. Swedish *pussa*. Compare Welsh *bus*, mouth.

Persian *bas*, Arabic *bws*, Maltese *bies*, *bus*, to kiss.

BUY, BOUGHT. A.S. *bycgan*. Perhaps from ✓ BHUG, to enjoy.

Arabic *baâ*, to buy or sell, *bât*, bought or sold. Here, as usually, the *ayn* becomes our *gh*.

CAIRN. Celtic *carn*, rock. The sense is "a pile of stones." Welsh *carnu*, to pile up.

Arabic *qarn*, to unite together, summit of a mountain.

Cairn Toul, or *Tal Carn*, mean in Arabic "high mountain."

CHISEL. Old French *cisel*. Low Latin *cisellus*. Etymology doubtful.

Arabic *ğazal*, to cut a stick in two pieces.

CUFF (to strike with the open hand). Swedish *kuffa*, to thrust. Perhaps connected with "to cow."

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CUFF (part of the sleeve). Origin uncertain.

Arabic *kaff*, *palm of the hand, slap, hand* (as far as the wrist), whence, *hem of a garment*. Maltese *keff*. This gives all the senses.

CUT. Welsh *cwtan*, *to shorten*; *cwt*, *tail*.

Arabic *qatā*, *to cut*. Maltese *katā*.

DALLY. Perhaps from A.S. *dweligan*, *to err*, and connected with *dwell* and *dull*.

Arabic *dall*, *to be coquettish with*; *dallal*, *to fondle a child*.

DAM (*bank for restraining water*). Wide Teutonic relationships. Remoter origin unknown.

Arabic *damma*, *to stop up* (a hole).

DRUDGE. Celtic.

Arabic *daraġ*, *to be in general use*; *durraġ*, *hardships*.

EMPTY. A.S. *aemtig*. From *aemta*, *leisure*. Root uncertain.

Arabic *amt*, *emptiness*.

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GAMBLE, GAME. A.S. *gamen*, a game. Teutonic relationships. Root unknown.

Arabic *gamar*, to gamble. Also, to hunt by moonlight; small birds. This gives all the senses of game.

GOWN. Welsh *gwn*.

Arabic *ganna*, to cover, whence shroud, veil, and *gunnat*, covering.

HEIFER. A.S. *heahfore* from *heah* (high) and *fear* (ox).

Arabic *ḥifr*, a calf; the *ḥ* is guttural, so the form = *ghaifr*. Cazet ("Mode de Filiation des Racines Sémitiques") gives roots GHFR and HFR. Maltese *ferha*.

HIT. Icelandic *hitta*, to hit upon. Beyond this doubtful.

Arabic *hat*, to hit.

Semitic to Scandinavian.

HOBBLE. A frequentative of "*hop*."

Arabic *habal*, to hobble; *habl*, rope.

HOLE, HOLLOW. A.S. *holh*, *hol*. Teutonic. Root uncertain.

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Arabic *hala*, to be empty; *hulw*, emptiness.

HOOF. A.S. *hóf*. Root uncertain.

Arabic *huff*, *foot of a camel or ostrich*.

ILL. Icelandic *illr*. Connected with A.S. *yfel* and English *evil*, of which the root is unknown.

Arabic *āill*, *ill*, *sick*, whence, *defective*. The *ayn* usually becomes *r* in Scandinavian; compare *plough*.

JEWEL. Old French *jouel*, from *joie*, *joy*. Latin *gaudium*.

Persian *ġawhar*, *jewel*, *pearl*. Maltese *jawar*, *pearl*. Arabic *ġahar*, to dazzle.

LAD. Celtic. Welsh *llawd*.

Arabic *walad* (of which the first syllable is often lightly pronounced), *lad*.

LENITY. Latin *lenis*, *soft*. Root uncertain.

The Arabic *lán*, *soft*, seems to give the root. An example of Semitic influence in Latin.

MERRY. Celtic. Gaelic *mear*, *merry*.

Arabic *marih*, to be lively.

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MIRROR. Old French *mireor*. Latin *mirari*, to wonder at.

Arabic *mirat*, mirror, from *árá*, to look in a mirror, and *ra*, to see.

OAK. A.S. *ác*. Teutonic type *AIKA*. Root unknown.

Arabic *ayk*, forest of bushy trees.

RATH (early), RATHER. A.S. *hrathe*, quickly. Middle High German *hrad*, quick. Teutonic base *HRATHA*, quick. Root uncertain.

Arabic *radá*, to journey early in the morning; other derivatives mean soon, early, time between daybreak and sunrise.

Semitic to Teutonic.

SHACKLE. A.S. *sceacul*, a bond, from *scacan*, to shake.

Arabic *shakal*, Maltese *shekkel*, to shackle (a beast).

SHOUT. Origin unknown.

Arabic *sát*, *sawat*, to shout.

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SIFT, SIEVE. A.S. *siftan*, from *sife*, a sieve.

Perhaps connected with North of England *seave*, a rush, and Icelandic *sef*, sedge.

Arabic *safsaf*, to sift; *saff*, to weave (palm-leaves).

SILK. A.S. *seolc*. Latin *sericum*. Greek *Sēres*.

Arabic *silak*, spun thread; Arabic *silk* = string for pearls.

TAIL. A.S. *taegl*. Teutonic. Root uncertain.

Arabic *thayl* (ḏayl), tail.

TALK. Swedish *tolka*, to interpret. From Lithuanian *tulkas*, an interpreter.

Arabic *tlq*, to express a thing absolutely, to mean, be fluent or eloquent. Maltese *t'laklak*, to talk brokenly.

Semitic to Lithuanian.

TALL. Originally meant *docile*. In the sense of *lofty*, may be Celtic. Welsh and Cornish *tal*, high. But the Irish *talla* means *fit*, proper. Further light is desired as to this difficult word (Skeat).

Arabic *twl* (from *tál*), tallness; *tawyl*, tall. Maltese *twil*, *twâl* = tall.

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Other meanings of the Arabic root are *forbearance, patience, to last long* and *to do good service to*. Compare the sense *docile*.

TAN. French *tan, oak, bark for tanning*. Breton *tann, an oak*, occasionally *tan*.

Arabic *ātan, to macerate hides, tan for hides*.

TRADE (usual way of life; compare "trade-winds," always in the same course). From *tread*. Teutonic base *TRAD*. Perhaps ✓
DRA, *to run*.

Arabic *trd, to pursue, follow the right course, hunting, parcel, game, stolen flocks, land, general rule, highroad*.

WAIST. The . . . part . . . of the body where the size of a man is developed (Skeat). A.S. *weaxan, to grow*.

Arabic *wasat, middle*.

WOOD. A.S. *wudu*. Teutonic type *WIDU*. Beyond this doubtful.

Arabic *āwd, Maltese āowd, wood*.

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In words like *ash*, *harsh*, the *sh* is represented in Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon by *sc*; I find no difficulty in this, as it seems apparent that the undiluted Aryan, and especially the Norseman, found difficulty with the combination, and gutturalised the *h*; in modern English we appear to have a reversion to the true form. The Norseman, moreover, had difficulty with the *ayn*, and with him it is nearly always represented by *r*; compare *ill*, *plough*, *sough*. But perhaps the most striking and interesting feature of all is the persistence with which the *ayn* becomes *gh* in English; particularly the words ending in *ough* and like combinations are instanced:—

PLOUGH. Scandinavian. Icelandic *plogr*. Beyond this doubtful.

Arabic *baluā(t)*, practically equivalent to *plugh*, *drain*, *sewer*. Showing the earliest use of the implement.

TROUGH. A.S. *troh* or *trog*. Teutonic. Root uncertain.

Arabic *trā*, to be filled with water, whence, *channel for irrigation*.

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SOUGH. Icelandic *súgr*, a *rushing-sound*. In Middle English the word meant "a swaying motion."

Arabic *sāsā*, to *shake*; *tasāsā*, to *be shaken*.

And so on with *cough*, *chough*, *rough*, *slough*, all of which appear to be Semitic.

The Aryans, being backward in religious and ethical ideas, seem to have borrowed from their predecessors several words under this heading: as *god*, *holy*, *druid*, *oath*, *hope*, *happy*, *good*, and *bad*. The pre-Aryans were great people with regard to animals, agriculture, and irrigation, and we have to thank them for *car*, *cat*, *cattle*, *chaff*, *colt*, *foal*, *heifer*, *hock*, *horn*, *jade*, *mule*, *plough*, *puss*, *mew*, *saddle*, *thresh*, *trough*, *sieve*, *hobble*, *shackle*, and *dam*.

An Eastern point of view appears in the words *hoof*, *brook*, *sieve*, and many others. To *zig-zag* means to run like an ostrich. Something of the kind is observable in the way European trees appealed to them: the *ash* with its nest, the *oak* with its bushy foliage, and bark for *tanning*.

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The chaffering and trading side comes out in *buy, gain, goods, track, trade, jewel, silk, mirror*; the sea-going in *smack, jetty, bark*. They were both gamblers and hunters, and gave us *gamble* and *game*.

We have to look for nursery words, having regard to Professor Morris Jones's theory, and we find them in *baby, buss, dandle, dally, ta*.

Their hatred of *war* is shown in the very meaning of this word, in Arabic *turmoil*; and the only weapon they seem to have left us the name of is one of defence, the *target*.

With the above examples before us we should be justified in seeking Semitic origins for many words which are, so to speak, on the fringe: obsolete, dialectical, slang, and popular words, and those for which no satisfactory explanation is forthcoming. For instance, the Worcester-shire expression HAZOM-JAZOM has often puzzled me. "That ain't *hazom-jazom*" means "That is not fair and square." In Arabic *hazm* means *resolution* and *jazm*, *decided business*; as two parties to a bargain might say, "Resolved?"

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“Decided!” And the transition from a bargain to a fair bargain is not distant. Moreover, in Worcestershire there are, or have been, strong Celtic influences.

A similar case is the Irishman’s BEDAD! Ireland was a stronghold of the Mediterranean Race, and Richardson gives the Arabic *Ba-dad* as meaning *justly*.

NIGHTMARE is a word having associations with the nursery and vulgar superstition. Professor Skeat connects the word with the root MAR, *to crush*, and the English *mar*, *to spoil*. The Maltese is *hmar-il-leil*, *night-donkey*, but it probably no more means *donkey* than our word means *mare*; but both words may be connected with Maltese *hemer*, *to ferment*, Arabic *ihmarr*. *Nightmare* would thus be “heat” or “fermentation of the night.”

In DAYBREAK we usually think of the verb *to break* without considering whether with us day does actually do such a thing, or whether such a common word could arise from a poetical image. In Arabic *barq* means *brightness*, *light*, and *mabraq*, *daybreak*. The *lightening* of day seems nearer the mark.

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No less do certain of our place names seem to bear the mark of this early people, and I may instance *WAST WATER* in the Lake District, which means in Arabic *Middle Water* ; and it is situated at the foot of *Middle Fell*. *BARRACANE*, the shell-beach below Mortehoe, in North Devon, means in Arabic “the sea-place of shells” (*bahrikin-kin*) ; shells were of great importance to the pre-Aryans, and there are megalithic ruins in the vicinity. And I could instance others.

Finally, I must meet the possible objection that the borrowing was the other way, namely, by the Semites. When, however, it is remembered that Arabic is and always has been a most exclusive language ; that all its borrowings from Aryan are recognised, well-known, and for the most part recent ; that the borrowing must, from the history of the words, have taken place centuries before Christ ; that all the Semitic words instanced are roots or modifications of roots, that is, integral parts of Semitic generally ; that it is impossible to suppose that an isolated Celtic or Scandinavian word could have become such a root or connected with it ; and that Semitic language or languages were developed before the

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Aryan members split off from the parent stock ; altogether, when the age, status, and diffusion of Arabic and its kin are considered, the proposition is comparable to deriving the Arabs from the English.

HAMITIC LANGUAGE TRACES

CHAPTER XIII

HAMITIC LANGUAGE TRACES

THE considerations in the last chapter lead to speculation as to whether an earlier layer may not be traced below the Semitic both in Malta and in the other places where this language is suggested to exist vestigially. As has already been stated, Maltese is almost wholly Semitic, but, just as we suppose that the most ancient monuments and their builders may belong to a time before the Eastern language was introduced, so we may not unreasonably look for traces of a Hamitic tongue. For the purposes of comparison we can probably select no better language than that of the Kabyles of Algeria and the North African coast, a characteristic Hamitic remnant, who are generally considered fairly representative of the original Eurafrican people who crossed into Europe, and are probably originally the same as those who first peopled Malta.

Their language, however, is difficult to deal

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with, for it has no literature and has become overshadowed by Arabic, which is universally taught in the schools. Where the two meet the Semitic always seems to triumph over the less stable sister, and in consequence we find that there have been many Arabic borrowings. This and the great love of neologisms have greatly affected the original purity of the language. Another difficulty is the fluctuation of sounds, so that on the whole we must assign to the Kabyle language the same character as is later observed in the Mediterranean Race itself, a lack of stability, virility, and power of command; it is always recessive when a dominant approaches. But with all this it retains a certain individuality; if it takes a second place, it remains an independent and even rebellious second. If it fails to command, it is no submissive slave. The language is intact in its structure and the main essentials, and on the whole its vocabulary is distinct from Semitic. Yet the ancient relationship between the two is marked by the fact that they are mutually translatable with great facility, and the grammatical affinities between them are fairly obvious.

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We find numerous words which are the same, or nearly so, in Kabyle and Maltese, and it is difficult to say whether such are borrowed by the Kabyles from Arabic, or whether any are originally Kabyle. Instances are :—

KABYLE.	MALTESE.	ARABIC.
<i>egdem</i> (cut)	<i>igdem</i> (bite)	<i>kdm</i> *
<i>ettia</i> (light)	<i>ed-dia</i>	<i>dwa</i>
<i>sefi</i> (clear)	<i>safi</i>	<i>safy</i>
<i>abedda</i> (begin)	<i>beda</i>	<i>bda</i>
<i>h'eled</i> (mix)	<i>hallat</i>	<i>hlt</i>
<i>sah'h'i</i> (health)	<i>sahhah</i>	<i>sahat</i>
<i>abeddel</i> (change)	<i>beddel</i>	<i>bdl</i>
<i>tlebsa</i> (garment)	<i>lebsa</i>	<i>lbs</i>
<i>anqiq</i> (neck)	<i>honq</i>	<i>anq</i>

and many others. But certain of them, as *imma*, “mother” (Maltese, *omm*; Arabic, *amm*), would naturally be supposed to be old and indigenous, and it might be concluded from this that some are originally Kabyle and have descended into Semitic speech. Bantu is related to the Hamitic languages and may be the parent of them all, and the Bantu word *bu* (place) finds its way into Kabyle and into the Maltese *Bufies* and *Bugibda*. Similarly we have Arabic words

* In Arabic the radicals, mainly consonants, are alone important.

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apparently derived from other Hamitic and related languages ; thus, the Dinka *tor* (dust, powder) appears to be at the root of the Arabic *turab* and the Maltese *torba* (pounded limestone); the Galla *borgi* '(hill)' appears in the Arabic *burg* (a tower), Maltese *borg*, and seemingly our "burg." The Galla *bar* (morning) may be at the foundation of the Arabic *barq* (light), which has been suggested to be an origin of our "daybreak."

There are some words, however, used in common by the Kabyles and Maltese and in the same sense, which seem to have no direct Arabic equivalents. Examples are: Kabyle, *agendous* (calf), Maltese, *gendus* (bull); Kabyle, *ez-zebeg* (bracelet), Maltese, *zibja* (bead), plural *ezbeg*. It may not be going too far to suppose that these are pre-Semitic words in Malta.

The instability of the Kabyle language and the lack of knowledge concerning its history leads to further difficulties if we attempt to find vestigial Hamitic, as a lower layer than Semitic, in Aryan languages. We find several words of similar form with Latin and Greek ; compare, for instance, Kabyle *ourthi* (garden) with *hortus*, *iger*

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(field) with *ager*, *iioun* (one) with *unus*. Although there is not much *primâ facie* likelihood of borrowing, there is always the possibility that such may have taken place, and the derivations of the Latin words are quite satisfactory. But some relationship might well be imagined between the Kabyle *akjoun* (dog) and the Greek *kuôn*.

The Kabyle *ah'h'am* (house) suggests "home," but here, again, there is not much fault to be found with the derivation of the last word, its relations being German *heim*, Gothic *haims*, Greek *kômê* (village), all from the root *κῑ* (to rest), seen in the Greek *keimai* (to lie). In all these cases, if there is a relationship, it must be very deep down.

To show, however, that we are quite within the bounds of possibility in looking for Hamitic traces in European languages, in addition to again referring to the traces of Hamitic syntax in Welsh, I will instance the Somali word *lol* (to move), Galla *lollo*s (to rock, loll); this seems to be the ultimate origin of our word "loll," the accepted derivation of which is: Old Dutch *lollen* (to sit over the fire), Old Icelandic *lolla* (to move slowly), Swedish and Danish *lulla*

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(cradle). The African word seems to have found its way into Teutonic generally.

There are pretty clear relationships between Hamitic on the one hand and Basque and Breton on the other, and I have heard of certain very well attested cases of persons acquainted with Gaelic finding words of the latter tongue used by inland Berber tribes. As was the case with Semitic, we are on much safer ground when we attempt to trace any Hamitic relationships through the Celtic speech, since the Celts were the first of the Aryans to come into touch with the earlier peoples in Western Europe.

The French *garçon* (boy) is of somewhat uncertain origin, but is supposed to arise from Breton and Celtic, and may also be connected with Basque. Beyond this lexicographers are in the dark. In Kabyle, however, we find *argaz* (man), which may not only be the ultimate ancestor of the French word, but of the Italian *ragazzo* also.

The Kabyle word *asammer*, plural *isoummar*, means "the side of a mountain exposed to the sun." The derivation of our word "summer" is at best doubtful, and it would be pleasing indeed to give it such a charming origin as this. The

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Anglo-Saxon is *sumer*, and there are relations in Dutch, Icelandic, Danish, and Old High German. Professor Skeat suggests a possible connection with Old Welsh *ham*, Welsh *haf*, "summer" (*h* being equivalent to *s*), and Sanskrit *sama* (year). All beyond the Teutonic seems very questionable.*

We descend by bathos to the homely word "jam," meaning "preserve." The Kabyle for "to preserve" is *jemâ*; the Maltese *jemma* and the Arabic *jamm* have the other meaning of our word, "to cram" or "press." Is it possible that an original Hamitic meaning has been kept in the English word? The derivation of "jam" in the first sense is doubtful, but Skeat thinks that it probably comes from the other "jam," "to crush," which he connects with "cham" or "champ." These he derives from Icelandic *kiaptr* (jaw), and connects with the Greek *gamphai*.

In this chapter it will be recognised that we are on even more debatable ground than in the last, but there is no certainty in these matters, and we can console ourselves with the reflection that if Hamitic does not exist in the languages

* But there is also a very probable derivation in Arabic.

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mentioned, we have every justification in looking for it.

NOTE.—By courtesy of Colonel W. G. Macpherson, of the Army Medical Service, I am permitted to publish the following extract of a letter written by him to me on a subject bearing very closely on the relations between Hamitic and Celtic :—

“ When I was in Morocco City in 1896 I met a Gaelic-speaking missionary doctor who had come out there and went into the Sus country (Trans-atlas), where ‘ Shluh ’ is the language spoken, just as it is the language of the Berber tribes in the Cis-atlas country. He told me that the words seemed familiar to him, and, after listening to the natives speaking among themselves, found they were speaking a Gaelic dialect, much of which he could follow. This confirmed my own observation regarding the names of the Berber tribes I myself had come across, namely the Bini M’Tir, the Bini M’Touga, and the Bini M’Ghil. The ‘ Bini ’ is simply the Arabic for ‘ Children of,’ and is tacked on by the Arabs to the ‘ M’ ’ of the Berbers, which means ‘ sons of ’ and is exactly the same as the Irish ‘ M’ ’ or Gaelic ‘ Mac.’ Hence

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the M'Tir, M'Touga, and M'Ghil become in our country the MacTiers, the MacDougalls, and the MacGills. I prepared a paper on this subject which was read by my friend, Dr. George Mackay of Edinburgh, at the Panceltic Congress there in 1907, I think, or it may have been 1908. It caused a leading article to be written in the *Scotsman*, I believe, but otherwise does not appear to have received much attention. . . . I honestly think that philologists will in time see that I am right and that it is geographically and historically very natural to find a Celtic language amongst the mountain tribes of Morocco, just as we find Celts in Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, driven into the mountains and islands. Why not also across the Straits into Morocco and the Atlas? "

This is interesting evidence, but in the light of the Mediterranean Race theory it may have a deeper significance than my friend suspected, but of a different kind: namely, it is an important corroboration of the theory of a stream of population running the other way, as propounded by Professor Morris Jones in "The Welsh People," by Professor Sergi, and in these pages.

MALTESE FOLK-LORE

CHAPTER XIV

MALTESE FOLK-LORE

ONE might live in Malta for years and never discover that the people had a folk-lore at all, and it was long before I myself discovered the fact. But that is because such a gulf divides the English and the Maltese, and it is very difficult to get into touch with the inner life of the people. The late Father Magri has done a great service in recording many of the folk-tales, but unfortunately he did not live long enough to carry out his intention of writing them in English. A German lady, Fräulein Ilg, has written many of the tales in German, and hers is probably the best collection. She has done her best to render the spirit of the stories and also the curiosities of expression into her translation, and the tales as she gives them do not vary greatly from Father Magri's versions. The latter's books, however, are written with a purpose, partly

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moral, and partly to uphold the Phœnician origin of the Maltese. Fortunately, the didactic part of the work is kept strictly to the notes. In many cases one can agree with him that there are Phœnician relationships displayed in the folklore, but it is possible, nevertheless, that the mythology is shared by this people in common with many others, and in certain instances where he points out the existence of a Syrian local colour he has to admit, none the less, that it might just as well be African. The tales fall into two parts, those bearing the dust of hoary antiquity, and others, bulking largely in Fräulein Ilg's book, of a more modern and cosmopolitan character.

It is interesting to note in the first part certain gleams of a Hercules myth, and records of adventures in the north-west of the Dark Continent, which have been regarded as filtering into Greece by way of the Phœnicians, but certain portions of this cycle are more probably of purely African origin, and it will be remembered that according to Herodotus Hercules is partly African.

I have often wondered whether Malta was

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actually connected with Africa and Sicily within the time of man's habitation of the land, and, judging from the human remains in the cave of Ghar Dalam, one might easily imagine such to be the case, for what appears to be an implement is found at the same horizon as the bones of the stag, and the whole contents of the cave seems to have been washed in when heavy torrents rushed over the land, the climate being much severer than it is to-day, and when possibly what is now Malta was a mountain-top. It is a well-known fact that a shallow ridge connects the island with both Sicily and Africa, and the folk-lore appears to carry reminiscences of the days when the country was not an island. We hear, for instance, of people riding to Malta, and in the oldest lore there are excursions into the interior of Africa, without any mention of a sea journey. Of course the reason may be that the tales originated on the African continent, and it is certain that some of them remain among the Kabyles to this day, in a slightly varied form. A portion of the Hercules legends are supposed to have originated in Babylon, but the East can only claim part of him; the home of the other

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half is in these localities, and it is of importance that some of his adventures are associated with the Atlas Mountains. It is highly probable that the Phœnicians obtained many of their legends and ceremonies partly from contact with, partly by inheritance from, the peoples of Libya. Inasmuch as Herodotus speaks of many of the Greek deities being brought from Egypt by the Pelasgians, the probable explanation is that the gods were brought by the Mediterranean Race from Africa, and were modified in their course; just as in Crete, the home of mother-worship, we find the birthplace of Zeus. In the wanderings recounted in the oldest tales of Malta, we meet adventures similar to those of Perseus on his way to the home of the Gorgons, and the same atmosphere of darkness and desolation. Yet we are not without an early Eastern influence, and it may well be imagined that the Bel and the Dragon myth, originating in Babylon, found its way into Maltese folk-lore with the suggested migration from Syria. With the primæval mythology of Egypt, Isis, Osiris, Horus, and Seti, we have also something to do in Malta, and the instances of parallelism point probably to the

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common source of the two peoples ; indeed, Osiris may have originated in Libya. No less do we find relationships with Hebrew folk-lore, customs, and sayings, and such are made much of by Father Magri as showing an Eastern origin of the people and their lore, but on the basis of what has been said in previous chapters these may in some cases be treated rather as parallel developments from a common source.

The earliest tales appear to be those relating to the mysterious lands *Bufies* and *Bugibda*, of which the former seems to mean "Axe-land," and the other either the "land which grips," that is, apparently, "The Land of Death," or else "The Land which Draws," having some vague reference to the load-stone and magnetic attraction ; the case for the last explanation has, however, hardly been made out. At any rate, these are dim and distant lands whither it is well to send unpleasant relations, for no one comes back from them. As I have said before, the Land of the Axe—and for the exact meaning of *Bu* we have to go back to Bantu, an ancient relation of Hamitic—may be the original home of axes and the axe-people, probably somewhere south of the

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Sahara, and according to other items in the story, situate somewhere near the West Coast. These are rich and wonderful lands at the ends of the earth, inhabited by lions and black people, and by cannibals, where there are trees covered with flies or insects, possibly locusts; wonderful singing birds, who also talk, so that we are doubtful whether they are parrots or canaries; gardens of green canes which grow and get small; dancing water, and a well of pure water which, if sprinkled on pillars of salt, makes them to become live people—in short, the water of life. A great journey has to be made by land to reach this place, through a sparsely inhabited region, whose few denizens appear to be cannibals. This might well be the Sahara, across which a trade-route between Algeria and the Gulf of Guinea exists to this day. The birds and the black people would fit in well with the Guinea country, the green reeds would be characteristic of any African river, and their quick growth and disappearance in the dry season appear to have found curious observers. The pillars of salt are obscure, but the idea of them seems to be deep-rooted, for we have them

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in the Bible; and finally, the water of life is also familiar from Holy Writ—circumstances which incline one to the opinion that our Lord and other tellers of tales and parables used images familiar to their hearers as being part of the folk-lore of the people. A Maltese tale of a boy who was cast out for not wearing a wedding-garment, and, returning with one, proceeded to feed it, saying that the garment rather than himself was wanted at the feast, lends colour to this idea, and it may even be possible that our Lord had this tale in his mind when he told the parable. But the water of life seems conclusive of an African *locus* for this cycle, for *el zair*, the elixir of life, has always been associated with the interior of that continent, and there are people who to this day believe in the existence of such a water, and that it is to be obtained far in the less known parts of Africa. The curious are referred to the *Review of Reviews* for March, 1911.

The following tale, not apparently very ancient, may serve as an introduction to these localities.

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THE DOCTOR

A couple lived together for some time, but were granted no children. The man loved his wife passionately, but she did not return the affection, and harboured a secret inclination for the doctor. With the latter she concerted a plan to get rid of the troublesome husband, and accordingly feigned sickness, and the doctor prescribed as the only remedy the "water of life" from Bufiles. The loving husband can refuse nothing, and starts on the perilous journey, but the state of affairs in the family is well known to the neighbours, and a beggar follows the husband and reveals the secret, asking as his reward a bushel of wheat. The beggar carries the husband home in a sack, and, arriving at the house, they find the false wife and the doctor feasting and making merry with their friends. The beggar sets down the bag on the floor and keeps a jealous eye upon it. The wife asks him to sing something amusing, and she herself starts with—

"How much my husband loved me !
He has gone for me to Bufiles
To bring the water of life,
And from there no one returns !"

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The beggar replies—

“He has not gone to Bugibda,
For he’s with you in the house,
And listens to your doings!
(Say something, you in the sack!)”

Husband (from the sack)—

“I promised a bushel of wheat,
But instead I give you two;
With one hand untie the bag,
While the other holds the doctor!”

Both wife and doctor come to the usual bad end; boiling in oil or being flayed for doormats or hangings are common ending for evil-doers. A “Turi-Tombi” often ends the story, a reminiscence of the striking up of the drum or tambourine as soon as the tale is ended, such instruments being still used as accompaniments among the Kabyles.

The following cycle also tells of adventure in Bufiles, and I am inclined to place it amongst the oldest tales of the country.

THE WISE WOMAN’S SON

A king had some beautiful birds which were continually being stolen and eaten by a “Golfu,”

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probably an owl or some other bird of prey. Many went to slay the Golfu, but this creature killed them all, even the greatest hunter among the people. This man's wife was very wise, and hid his weapons from her son and always found some excuse when the boy asked what his father's calling had been. But the boy nevertheless grew up a great hunter. He contrived to make an enemy of the king's chief counsellor, who advised the king to send the boy in pursuit of the Golfu. The boy said he must first ask his mother, and she permitted him to make the attempt after his stipulating for a sum of money. He was successful in his venture.

Here we may trace some similarity to the boyhood of Theseus. The important position of the mother is also to be noted as pointing to a possible survival of mother-right. The likeness to the legend of Hercules and the Stymphalian birds is remarked on by Magri.

At the instigation of the vizier the boy is next sent for the famous singing-bird. He walks and walks till he finds a wizened old woman, whom he politely salutes with "Good-morning to you, mother." She replies, "If you had not saluted

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me, I should have swallowed you ! ” She sends him on to her brother, who is older still, and the same interchange of words takes place. “ Where can I find the singing bird ? ” asks the boy. “ Many stronger than you have come for it. Go on, and if you have luck you will catch it. If not, you will remain there. Go on to my eldest sister.”

The eldest sister holds the same kind of conversation as her brother, and tells the boy that he will find the bird if he looks, and when the creature has his eyes closed he is awake, and when they are open he is asleep. “ Let him fall asleep, then go for him at once.” The boy was able to catch the bird by virtue of these instructions.

I seem to find here some similarity with the adventures of Perseus in search of the Gorgons. Father Magri holds that the old people were cannibals, but that they were amenable to fair words. It is to be noted that Argus of the Greeks slept with open eyes. Another tale of this bird shows that it held those who listened to it as if by a magnet, and that they could only be loosened by the water of life. Here may be some

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foundation for the Gorgon story and the turning to stone, also of the tale of the Sirens.

The counsellor would not leave the boy in peace, and, as the bird would not sing in captivity, contrived to send the young hunter for the bird's tree. This is a tree the leaves of which close and open, and the boy has to seize it when the leaves are open; that is, it is one of the sensitives, probably an acacia of the seyal variety, and its home might be Africa or Arabia. The next venture is for elephants' bones to make a palace for the king, and the boy's mother shows him how to make the elephants drunk with wine and then kill them. Elephants' bones are found in very large numbers in Malta, but none of these animals existed, so far as is known, contemporaneously with man. Africa seems to be the likeliest locality for this story.

The final quest is for the "Daughter of Beauty," who was probably one of the fair Libyans. On his mother's advice the boy throws bread as a propitiation to the fish, meat for the ants, and seed for the birds. The girl, with a pride which is comprehensible on the basis of lingering matriarchal sentiment but not in

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accordance with later Oriental ideas, replies that she will not come for the asking, but sets the boy several tests. By the help of the ants he collects her scattered needles, the fish obtain her ring from the sea, and the birds catch her well-nigh impalpable veils, and so she consents to come. But even then she will not marry the king, but naturally prefers the boy. There is something here which calls to mind the Northern sagas as well as Greek legend.

THE GALLEY THAT RAN ON LAND

A certain king decreed that whosoever should make the galley run on the land should have his daughter to wife. Now, there was a poor widow who had three sons, the eldest of whom proposed to attempt the task, and his mother accordingly made him bread to last a week. On the way he met an old woman who craved a mouthful of bread, but was refused. In return she told the youth that at the first stroke he should make on the tree he should break his arm. The prophecy proved correct, and he returned discomfited, only to be followed by the second brother, who returned with a broken leg. The

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youngest, however, listened to the old woman's prayer, and she prophesied him success at the first stroke. He went on, and met an old man who offered to come with him, and, in turn, on the old man's advice, he enlisted other wonderful people whom he met by the way—one who had been drinking water for a year and was not satisfied ; one who had cut stone for a year and had not enough for a load ; one who walked on his knees that he might not outstrip the wind in speed ; one who could tell whatever was going on in the world by putting his ear to the ground ; one who could shoot, and knew where to hit ; and finally, one who lay belly downwards and caused foul weather and belly upwards to cause fine.

At the first stroke the boy made the galley run on the land, but the king was not satisfied ; he required the boy to drink all his wine before he would part with the princess. The old man bade the youth be of good cheer, and set the great drinker to the task. The king was not satisfied with this, and wanted all his gold carried in one load. Here the second champion stood the boy in good stead. The third labour was to



FIG. 53. PREHISTORIC CART-RUTS, GOZO.
(Photo, Valletta Museum.)

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run to the fountain and fill a jar with water before the king's daughter could do so. With the swift man the girl used guile and sent him to sleep, but the keen hearer detected this, and the marksman hit the stone on which the runner slept ; so the swift man triumphed. Then the king was angry, and gave instructions that the youth should be killed by his own sailors. The old man arranged that this should be done outside the town. When the sailors and the troops had collected, the seventh man turned belly downwards and caused a great darkness, so that the king was killed by mistake in the boy's stead, and the boy became king in his place.

Father Magri has some interesting notes on this story. Talk of the galley is still heard among the country-people, and deep cart-ruts in the rocks (see Fig. 53), chiefly in the vicinity of prehistoric ruins, bear witness to ancient land-galleys, the earliest carts, and, in the light of this story, probably built on the model of ships, like those carved by the ancient Assyrians. Here we have evidences of a people whose earliest idea of a vehicle is a ship ; worthy relations of

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the Cretans, who held the Ægean in sway by dint of their naval power. Strange to say, these cart-tracks of the Maltese islands are found not only in Malta and Gozo, but also, according to Magri, in Comino and the tiny Filfolà, the latter cut off by nearly three miles of sea, and offering no possibility of sustenance to man. In Gozo and at St. George's Bay in Malta the cart-tracks run out into the sea, thus attesting their antiquity, while all these facts prove that in prehistoric times the islands must have been larger, and suggest that they were connected.* The south coast is formed by a sheer cliff, and here, at some early date, the land must have fallen away into the sea. There is still an inkling among the peasantry that the island was connected with the mainland in the time of man.

Father Magri's notes elaborate the points in this legend corroborating a Syrian origin. The old woman may well have been Astarte, and we are familiar with a like appearance of a goddess to Greek heroes in similar circumstances; and the seven heroes may have been the Cabiri. But

* Near Hagiar Kim the ruts run over the precipitous edge of the cliff towards Filfolà.

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all this may just as well be Hamitic as Phœnician. In supposing that the wood to which the boy journeyed must have been Lebanon, he seems to be rather prejudging the case. On the other hand, when he speaks of the deep-seated idea of the peasantry that they are from Syria, and quotes a saying from Algiers to the same effect, and when he harps on a similarity of dialect between certain Syrian tribes and the Maltese, we are better able to follow him. One important point arises, however, on the language question. *Filfol* means a pepper-seed, *Comino* cumin, *Gozo* (*Ghaudex*) a litter or a boat or a lentil, according to various writers ; all, however, are named from their shapes, and the names are fairly descriptive to-day. But in the era of the prehistoric cart-ruts the shapes were different, so it must be supposed that the Semitic naming is later than the formation of the tracks. From this it might be judged that the ruts belong to the original Hamites, and are some of the oldest remains.

We have, moreover, in Malta a variant of the legend of Hercules and the apples of the Hesperides.

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THE SERPENT AND THE APPLES

A king had in his garden a tree which bore a golden apple every year, but when it was ripe a seven-headed serpent came at midnight and took it away. The king gave his eldest son a whistle and a knife and told him to lie in wait for the serpent and to cut off one of his heads, and then whistle for help, in order that they might track him to his lair. The first and afterwards the second son fall asleep before the critical time. Finally the turn of the youngest comes, and he cuts off one of the serpent's heads, and the family are thus able to find the cave of the monster. The eldest and second sons fail in their venture into the cavern, but finally the youngest is let down by the rope, and, getting to the bottom, decides to test the fidelity of his brothers. This is a trait which is absent from most classic lore, but finds its natural place in the Maltese tales. He ties a stone on to the rope and blows his whistle. His brothers haul up the stone, and when half-way up they lose hold of the rope. "That's what my brothers would do to me," says the boy. He goes on and finds

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a nest of young birds, and by feeding the young ones gains the gratitude of the mother bird, and she tells him how to overcome the serpent by guile—no easy task, as his heads, when severed, grow again like the Hydra's.

Serpent myths are as old as any existing, and in these parts no less than in Egypt we find traces of an old adoration of these reptiles. Serpents intertwined are still a mark of Æsculapius's art, and in the most recent excavations at the Mnaidra the finding of intertwined coils of baked clay appears to afford a further evidence that the place was regarded as a kind of healing shrine. Can the origin of snake-worship lie in the fact that these creatures would often be seen emerging from the ancient tombs and cairns, and so become associated with the spirit of the ancestor? It is curious that the other Maltese ghosts are the cow-ghosts, probably the extinct *Bos bubalus*, and the jackal, both of which could well be imagined as haunting tombs, the former for the purposes of shade, the latter in search of food.

We might run through the gamut of these weird and numerous stories, but it would be

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out of place to do so in a work of this character, and for further reading a perusal of Fräulein Ilg's interesting book is recommended. In the story of Ghermuda we have the Maltese Cinderella; the Maltese Samson might well be older than the Biblical hero, for his strength lies not in the hair of his head, but in that of his tail, and we are reminded of the ideas of savage peoples, who hold this appendage, real or assumed, to be a sign of strength. The story is, however, apparently overlaid with an atmosphere emanating from Arabia, and is reminiscent of the Forty Thieves. In the hero's being cut to pieces by his mother and put in a trunk, and subsequently being restored by means of the water of life by his sweetheart, we have probably one of the oldest portions of the story; for these incidents occur more or less in the life of Osiris, and the Maltese Samson may well be the same person. In the slaying of the dragon by the eighth son, the Son of Tears, we have probably an Accadian influence traceable to the legends of Bel, and the little fellow with his huge head and enormous hammer finds his way into the Thor myth, as well as having some relationships with Hercules

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and Esmun of the Phœnicians. The Seven Twisted Fruits have been twisted from their original meaning, for they are really the seven inhabited fruits, and several of the tales appear to be drawn from the observation of grubs in fruit, and it is not impossible that the apple came to be regarded as the symbol of fecundity from an idea of this kind. In the "Wise Princess" we have relationships with the King Lear legend, and in the "Princess and the Dragon" we have a rescue closely similar to those recounted in "Perseus and Andromeda" and "Hercules and Hesiona." There are riddlings and plays upon words reminding us of Biblical lore and Eastern traditions. "The Master Thief" was indeed worthy of the name, and his glorification suggests traditions in which honesty and truth were not regarded in the same light as they are among us to-day. The story also exists among the Kabyles. The original of Till Eulenspiegel seems to be found in the hero who is sometimes Buassu, the lazy, at others Seppi, the fool, but who, under either name, usually comes off best. The Kabyles know him also. There are many adventures with sons of lions,

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with giants, and hairy wild men, who may represent foreign races, the two former, perhaps, the Cro-Magnon people. Much of the lore which falls into the second division is necessarily common to that of most European and Eastern peoples, but there are certain qualities brought out and also ways of looking at things which seem characteristic. I might mention family jealousy, looseness of the family tie even to the murdering of relations for gain, childish curiosity and desire for any new thing that may be mentioned, a broad undercurrent of *esprit gaulois*, examples of which cannot be given in these pages, the high estimation of trickery, and the marvellous imagination displayed in knavery—imagination, one would say, run riot, and to such an extent that one wonders how the victim could not see the trap that was laid for him. I give a few examples of the more modern tales in illustration, but they can hardly, perhaps, be regarded as purely Maltese.

THE DEATH OF THE SHOEMAKER

A shoemaker could never get out of debt, and finally, when his creditors pressed him to the

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last point, he feigned death. The sacristan, standing over his bier, so moved the assembled creditors that he induced them to forswear their rights, for the peace of the poor man's soul. They not only do so, but are induced to put their words into writing. The shoemaker is carried into the church for the night, and thieves break in. He starts up, and so frightens them that they leave behind all their money. The shoemaker thus gets a good start in the world, with no debts and cash in hand.

THE MISER AND THE OLIVES

A miser starved his first wife to death, and a beautiful girl was persuaded to marry the old man by her mother, who undertook to manage things for the best. For the nuptial meal he buys a bit of bread and a farthing's-worth of olives, and, as he eats, throws the stones on the floor. His new wife rebukes him severely for such extravagance, telling him that the stones should be cracked and the kernels eaten, and the husks used for firewood. He is so impressed with his treasure of a wife that he hands over to her the keys of the money-chest—with the

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obvious result. On coming to it one day he finds it empty, and is seized with a stroke. The mother sees that a notary is called in, and, as the old man shrieks repeatedly, "All the money—Maria," she tells the lawyer that he means "I leave all to Maria," whereas he really meant that Maria had taken it all. The notary is urged on to writing the will, being persuaded that the miser's fury is caused by his delay. This is too much for the old man to bear, and he expires on the spot.

THE MISER, THE INNKEEPER, AND THE CAPUCHIN

There was once a miser who fed his family on the meanest of fare, but occasionally bought a sardine, which he hung on the wall, and the family threw their bread at it in order to extract some of the flavour, a practice reminiscent of the Cornish dish "potatoes and point." Next door lived an innkeeper, famous for his cooking, and on days when he was preparing his viands the miser felt it unnecessary to purchase the sardine, as the smell was as good as a feast. The innkeeper, hearing of this custom, sent in

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a heavy bill at the end of the year, at which the miser protested, saying that his neighbour had suffered no loss. The latter, however, maintained that the miser had reaped a gain, and finally the matter was brought into court. The judge decided that as the miser had only benefited to the extent of the smell of the meats, the innkeeper must be content with the jingling of some money. The miser accordingly jingled some gold pieces in payment.

The innkeeper, however, loved the miser's eldest daughter, and when the old man had to leave his family for a period, having first enjoined the strictest economy upon them, the mother asked their young neighbour in and feasted him royally. In the midst of the feast there enters a capuchin, and he is invited to join in with the rest. But in the midst of the carouse an ominous knocking is heard. It is the miser returned ! The friar throws an old cowl over the innkeeper and hides away the viands and the plates in all corners of the room. The miser is admitted and offers a humble night's lodging to the friar, who sends off the innkeeper, now a lay-brother, to the Reverend Father to say that he is not returning.

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The capuchin soon takes out an Arabic book, and leads the miser to believe that it has magic powers. At the miser's request a sumptuous repast is ordered, and the relics of the feast are hauled out from the nooks and crannies. The miser is so taken with the powers of the book that he offers his money-chest in exchange for it, a bargain well-pleasing to the rogue, who leaves the old man to experience a rude awakening from his dreams.

But time smooths this incident over, and the innkeeper manages to ingratiate himself with the head of the house so far as to be invited to spend evenings in the family circle. One night he asks the miser if it is his usual custom to allow the family to sit burning a light with their clothes on—the light consisting of a miserable wick floating in some dregs of oil. The miser replies that of course it is. Then follows a tirade on the part of the innkeeper about such wanton extravagance. He himself, he says, always undresses and sits in the dark in order to save his clothes. The miser is highly pleased with this, and orders his household to act upon it, and he is so delighted with the innkeeper that he considers

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him worthy to be his son-in-law, and gives him his daughter and all his wealth.

The innkeeper sets up house in magnificent style, and one day asks the old man to visit him. The miser is so shocked at the extravagance around him that he has a stroke and dies.

THE TWO ROGUES AND THE ANTIQUARY

Two rogues, having come to their wits' end for money, could find nothing saleable left in their room, but their eyes fell on two common pictures, which seemed to be the only possible things remaining. They accordingly took these to an antiquary and offered them for sale. The shopkeeper asked how much they wanted, and they replied a hundred pounds. The antiquary laughed, for the pictures were only worth a few pence, but finally consented to their being left in his shop in case a customer should come that way.

In the course of a few days a richly-dressed man appeared, and, after looking all through the shop and finding nothing to his liking, his eye fell on the pictures. At the end of some discussion he offers fifty pounds for them, but the

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antiquary begins to think that there must be something special about them, and will not accept less than two hundred. The gentleman finally agrees, and, as he has not the money on him, makes the shopkeeper write out an undertaking to deliver them to-morrow to Count X. for the sum stated.

In the evening the rogues return, saying that they see it is of no use leaving the pictures, and ask to take them away. At first the antiquary offers a small sum for them, but finally pays them their hundred pounds.

Naturally the "Count" does not return.

THE PEASANT IN TOWN

A peasant comes to town with a basket of fat capons, and wanders aimlessly about the streets, stopping finally in front of a large building which strikes his eye. Some one comes up to him, of whom he inquires the nature of the building and to whom he confides his difficulty in disposing of the capons. The stranger informs him that this is a monastery, and that the reverend prior is a very likely purchaser. He offers to take the capons in for inspection. The peasant is

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delighted at such kindness, and waits without while the rogue enters. The latter meets a brother, and tells him that he has at last prevailed on a great sinner to come to confession, but that the poor fellow has a screw loose and insists on talking of capons. The rogue passes on and out of the garden-door with the capons. The brother goes out and finds the hardened sinner, brings him in, and encourages him to confess. The peasant kneels down respectfully, but ventures to suggest that he would first like to know something of his capons, and the more he protests about them the more vehemently does the brother urge him to get rid of his fixed idea and to come to his great sin. After much searching of heart the truth comes out.

THE PENITENT

A rogue was at a loss to find something to steal, and finally determined to try his luck with the confessional. He professes to be greatly conscience-stricken, and begs the confessor to expatiate at length on the nature of certain sins. During the harangue he manages to come close enough to remove the priest's gold watch

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and chain. The confessor becomes tired of abstractions and asks for concrete examples. The thief confesses that he has taken a gold watch and chain, and asks for absolution. This the priest will not give until the goods are restored.

“But shall I give them to you, father?”

“Certainly not! I don’t want them. Restore them to their owner.”

“But,” replies the rogue, “the owner says he does not want them.”

“Oh, in that case you need not restore them. I absolve you, and bless both you and them.”

Afterwards the father discovered the trick that had been played on him, and remarked that he had thought never to have set his eyes on so sincere a penitent.

The last is only one of a large number of tales of tricks played at the confessional, the rogue getting off with both absolution and the fruits of his fraud. The tales are illustrative of that deep feeling for formality and outward observances, “faith not works,” which is characteristic of Southern peoples, and the experienced traveller will judge that many of the tales are not far-

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fetched as regards trickery, which is by no means confined to Malta. At first you are taken in by the very complexity of the fraud, not understanding how it could be pieced together unless there existed a solid background of truth ; afterwards you ask a crucial question, and the whole fabric collapses, and your interlocutor politely says " Good-morning," and walks away unabashed, hoping for better luck on the next occasion.

RACE CHARACTERISTICS



CHAPTER XV

RACE CHARACTERISTICS

FROM the evidence of monuments, customs, and worship, and still more clearly on biological grounds, the Maltese, ancient and modern, may be regarded as representatives of that great Hamitic or Eurafrican people, termed by Sergi the Mediterranean Race, first arising somewhere south of the Sahara, and having later pressed their way northward and crossed by various routes to people the greater part of Europe. Having established this point, it will be interesting to give special study to the ethnic characteristics of the Maltese, comparing them where possible with other representatives of the race, in order to find a clue to the problem as to how the long-heads, who must have been numerous and possessed of arts and considerable civilisation, succumbed to the Aryan short-heads,

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probably few in numbers and backward in culture.

We can have few better standards of comparison for Hamitic characteristics than the Kabyle population of North Africa, the autochthonous representatives of the ancient Libyans. I have mentioned folk-lore as being partly shared in common between these people and the Maltese, and I venture to give a further Kabyle story, which seems also essentially "Mediterranean." A peasant on visiting his onion-bed caught a thief red-handed pulling up the onions and putting them in his burnous. On being taken to task the thief replied that he had fallen down, and that the onions, being loosely planted, stuck in his hands. "But why are there some in your burnous?" "That is just what puzzles me," replied the thief.

There is not only a "long-headed" flavour about this, but it seems to share that spirit which, to my mind, underlies one side of European literature, not that of the *salons* and refinement, but the kind of thing that blossoms up in France in the *fabliaux* and in that child of Nature, Montaigne. There is the atmosphere of Reynard the

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Fox about it, and some of the essential features of the *esprit gaulois*. I may be wrong, but since I have become a Sergian I see this combat of the long-heads and the short everywhere in European history, and am inclined to regard that aristocratic literature of the drawing-room which Taine considered exotic in France as part of the domination of the later short-headed invaders.

In reading M. Liorel's book of the Berber Kabyles, similarities of customs with the French, especially the Bretons, meet us continually, such as processions and shootings at births and weddings and the seeking of Easter eggs ; there are also similarities between French and Maltese customs, and, indeed, among all three. I would cite as an example the ancient blessing of the cattle among the Maltese, reminiscent of Brittany. But one striking characteristic held in common between Kabyles and Maltese is a wonderful solidarity of local society. Rich and poor sit down side by side in the schools, and the poor can always claim food and hospitality as a matter of course. In the words of M. Renan, the differences are of fact, not of right. To us with our ideas of class, the general friendliness of the Maltese

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among one another, their freedom of intercourse as among one large family, seem strange and wonderful things. Here also, save for the nobility which savours of Aryan feudalism, all differences are of fact and not of right. This is a fruitful expression and lures to more general speculation. In an earlier work, "Latent Impulse in History and Politics," I have suggested that the cause of the French Revolution may have lain in the collective emotion of sovereignty, corresponding to self-feeling in individual psychology, gaining ground among the lower classes. Is there perhaps also a race problem here, and can we associate the revolutionaries with the spirit of the old dolichocephalic inhabitants of the land? If we look at post-revolutionary France and ask ourselves to characterise the social conditions thereof, we might certainly find a worse description than "differences of fact, not of right."

Moreover, in Mrs. J. R. Green's "Irish Nationality" the descriptions of the customs of the ancient Irish seem strangely akin to M. Liorel's account of the modern Kabyles. "The law with them," she says, "was the law of the people." Custom and tradition ruled, and the

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king based his power on usage and consent. Hierarchies held sway, and schools of poets and lawyers kept alive the traditions of their lore. In Kabylia there is the same kind of socialistic government by tradition; the *djemâa*, or village council, governs according to religion, general custom, and local usage. The distinctive existence of the village is maintained, and tribal hostilities prevail as in Ireland, but there is always a readiness to combine against the invader should necessity arise.

As a counterpart to the poetic schools the Kabyles have their *ameddah*, or bards, who sing of God, the fatherland, and the deeds of warriors, to the sole accompaniment of the Basque drum. They are treated as guests of great distinction, and can pay off scores with biting sarcasm. There are also the *tebabla*, or tambouriners, who sing the lighter theme of love and are in great request at all family feasts and jubilations. There is something more than Irish about all this; we are reminded, not only of Homer but also of the Epic and Minne-singers of the Middle Ages.

The religion of the Kabyles is a formal affair,

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and its essence lies in the fulfilment of observances and in due respect to the priesthood. There is virtue in kissing the hand of a marabout. Yet the Kabyle is able to square things with heaven; at times when it is permitted neither to eat nor drink he puts in his mouth a little ice, and holds it to be no sin. Like the rogue of the tale in the last chapter, he obtains earthly satisfaction and heavenly absolution at the same time. Moreover, in Kabylia the higher position of women in comparison with Arab custom is not confined to civil life, but permeates religious ideas, for female saints and prophetesses are heard of there. Although the conquering Arab has imposed the outward formalities of the Koran, and to some small extent his language and customs, yet there remains this vestige of mother-right as a kind of oasis in the desert. All these religious characteristics seem significant of race. It was perhaps only by accident that the Aryan conquerors adopted father-right, but it became the keystone of their system. Their practical and warlike nature could find no sympathy with the regimen of women, with their leanings to peace, compromise,

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symbolism, superstition, and veneration. But these latter feelings were by no means crushed out by the conquerors when they imposed their stern regime, and we find them continually welling up and asserting themselves throughout history. If Protestantism embodies the principles of father-right, the Roman Church retains most of the vital essentials of matriarchy. As among the warlike Germans the gospel was first introduced by cloaking it in all the semblances of a tale of combat, so that even the Sermon on the Mount is transferred into the exhortation of a chief to his war-band, so in the rest of Europe the Church had also to make its way by dint of certain compromises with the ancient religions, of which many of the formalities and superstitions came to be legalised. The breach between paganism and Christianity is by no means so deep as appears at first sight, and a little intimate knowledge of certain peoples shows the extent to which accommodations have been made. In Malta several of the *festas* are recognised to be heathen festivals accorded sanction by the Church, and it is a matter of general knowledge that many formalities even of the Anglican

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Church date from pre-Christian times. It appears, therefore, that the mother-worship characteristic of the dolichocephals persists to this day, and is legalised in Christian dogma in the worship of the Virgin. Not only so, but much of the spirit of this old worship is still living, being most in evidence among the most Catholic peoples, the Southern Europeans, the Bretons, and the Irish—that is, in the strongholds of the Mediterranean race. The worship of images, the attachment to symbols, belief in magic, the high importance of bones and relics, accommodations with heaven by means of formalities, even though the spirit be not in accord, absolute compliance with observances, combined with relatively small regard to conduct, and, finally, the sacredness of persons embodying the principles of the creed simply by virtue of their investiture and initiation and irrespective of their human merits—all these, scientifically regarded and with no animus for or against any particular form of faith, appear to be the direct descendants in modern creeds of the worship which prevailed in the shrines of prehistoric Crete and Malta. In other words, the evolution

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of religion is as permanent as the evolution of society and of man himself.

Aryanism dealt a blow at many things besides religion. It came to give not peace but a sword. In ancient Crete we find few of the insignia of war, and in Malta practically none. There may have been rivalries between Knossos and Phæstos, for parochialism is the rule in early peoples, but we find nothing of the armed camps of feudalism. This Eurafrican race were gentle and peace-loving. One of their settlements must have been like a single large family, and the arrangements of the Cretan palaces point to a variety of socialism wherein the goods of the community were stored in the palace of the chief. A kind of communism prevailed, a friendly relationship of the constituent members of a society, but without that strong central sovereignty which, since Austin, we hold must exist to "sanction" the multifarious rights. If that great jurist had lived with an early Eurafrican people he might have expounded his principles in a different manner, for all our theorisings are based on the examples we have before us, and more so in political science than in any other. The

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Kabyle system, under which the poor can claim hospitality, or, if necessary, cause a tax to be levied for their benefit, under which the accidental death of an animal is a social, not an individual affair, by virtue of which mutual assistance is rendered in field operations by all to all, may well be characteristic also of the ancient communities under our present view. A study of the Kabyles might even lead us to suppose that the communal village system once prevalent throughout Europe was a Eurafrian institution, persisting until the advent of the conquerors gave a lord to each manor, transformed ownership into servitude, and changed communism into feudalism.

This people turned favourably to trade ; they loved chaffering and bargaining. We gather this mainly from vestigial traces, as from the Phœnicians, the world's first great traders, from the Maltese and the Greeks of to-day, and from the Jews, who are probably related to the race. Their ideas of commerce were not broad and generous ; it has required a liberal admixture of the Aryan spirit to permit of the building up of modern commerce, founded on the broad basis

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of credit and trust. To-day in Malta haggling and chaffering over trifles as if for the pure joy of it, with a constant eye to personal advantage, and accompanied with no little pride if this is gained at the other party's expense, is the rule ; there is little idea of the mutual benefit of commerce, nor is there that trustfulness and breadth of view which induces people to invest their savings in large undertakings. The absence of such commercial institutions is particularly noticeable in the island, whereas, on the other hand, there exists that sanguine and superstitious frame of mind, so common to the South of Europe, which favours gambling in any shape or form. The different standpoints from which the State views lotteries and gaming-houses is possibly characteristic of race proclivities. The same proneness to chaffering exists among the Greeks of to-day and has become a race characteristic since the downfall of the Aryan aristocracy. In oligarchic Sparta trade was regarded as despicable, while in more democratic towns, like Corinth, it was held in honour. At Athens the combat between the two ideas is very clearly demonstrated in the time of Pericles. He was an aristocrat, sharing

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to a large extent the views of the other aristocracies in Greece, but his patriotism induced him to serve the city according to his ideas. Against him was always arrayed the mob of the marketplace, seen by us only through the aristocratic spectacles of Thucydides, a host of tanners and cattle-dealers under the leadership of Kleôn. I have referred in "Latent Impulse" to the underlying desire of this trading population to make themselves masters of the routes to Sicily, and on the theory that the large commercial population of Athens were the true descendants of the Pelasgians, we seem to get a clearer insight into the reasons of this war which divided Greece into two hostile camps: the long-heads were beginning to assert their supremacy, aiming at a wide area of sea-trade, such as existed under Minos, and to which Sparta and her confederates, with their narrower military ideas, were by their racial nature opposed.

A concomitant of this chaffering spirit is the love of chicanery exhibited in the Maltese folklore and not infrequently met with in the daily life of the island and in the Mediterranean basin generally.

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In the departments of architecture and art we can trace further relationships and common characteristics. The very houses of Ancient Crete with their well-lights and painted frescoes are reproduced in modern Malta, nor are they without their parallels in old Pompeii and in Southern Italy and Sicily of to-day. In their art these Eurafrians were clever and ingenious copiers, but in their work there is no restraint, no impelling artistic power, no reserve. As in other spheres the inclination runs riot unchecked. Gaudy decorations cover the walls and ceilings of Maltese houses, things put on by the square yard, without any idea of the appropriateness of subject or of harmony in colour—mere riot of the imagination. At times the ruling impulse seems to be a desire to make a thing look like something else, wood like stone, and stone like wood. One of the transoms of Hal Saflieni, carved out of the natural rock, is made to appear as if weighed down by superincumbent pressure. I have observed that this feature is also characteristic of the neighbourhood of Naples and Sorrento. In handicraft enormous skill and patience are displayed in making objects of a

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quasi-ornamental nature, flimsy tinsel models and the like ; and furniture and buildings betoken a cleverness and industry in contriving all kinds of elaborate ornament and ingenious devices. But the questions never seem to arise, What is the purpose of it all? or even, Does one portion harmonise with another? It is the same in dress : blue, red, green, and yellow are alike beautiful and may lend themselves to artistic schemes. But if they are all put on together, the result is appalling. Paris fashions are often charming, but on a peasant girl or on a child of three they look ridiculous. Those who know Malta will fully appreciate the point of these observations. Here are imagination and will without repression.

It is the same in conduct. An idea is pursued without any reference to the natural limitations of things, and the result is failure. For the sake of cleverly tricking his master to the extent of threepence I have known a Maltese servant incur the loss of a post which meant not only a living for himself and his numerous progeny, but practically a position of aristocrat among his class. For threepence which he did not want he plunged himself and his family from comparative afflu-

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ence into absolute ruin and despair. But there is something in all this which savours of genius ; this pursuit of a single idea, this lack of repression, this jibbing at constraint, are they not all part of that god-like gift which raises a man far above his fellows? In the failings of the long-heads may there not lie that very declension from the normal which is held to be the essence of genius? And Napoleon himself, who would not stop at a European empire, but risked and found destruction in the pursuit of an Asiatic idea beyond the realms of human possibility, may be regarded as having a large share of the spirit of this imaginative race.

A further personal trait of the Maltese no less than of the Kabyles is their fondness for jewellery, which among the men takes the form largely of charms and other trifles hung on the watch-chain. These, in the form of pigs and other animals, corals, teeth, and what not, present themselves to the eye of the passer-by as if in final evidence that their wearers are the same folk who carved and wore these very shapes five or six thousand years ago and buried them at Hal Saflieni.

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Among this once matriarchal and woman-worshipping people the love between mother and son is so strong that it is at present held to be one of the greatest deterrents to emigration. That love of home and of the fireside, that sentimental attachment to family and locality, which seems at present to distinguish our own lower classes from the more enfranchised well-to-do—these things are eminent characteristics of the Maltese of to-day.

Another noticeable feature is the love of novelty, especially in the names of houses and the numerous grog-shops of the island. There is no permanency in these things and the latest fancy has to be painted on the wall, so that there are sometimes as many as three names appearing at the same time. In what other country would a shop be called "The Lost Inheritance"?

Recent modifications of view as regards the Aryans lead us to wonder how it came about that, shorn of their pristine glory, they ever came to triumph in Europe at all. Why they did so I will attempt to show in the next chapter, but let us now sum up the characteristics of the people who gave way to them and see if there was

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anything in the nature of these latter to account for the fact. Our various comparisons lead us to suppose that they were a peace-loving people, of a genial and friendly nature, whose combative instincts led them no further than occasionally in an amicable way getting the better of their neighbours. Their devotion to images and ritual, their superstition, their abiding predilection to matriarchy, their subservience to hierarchy, leads us to suppose that they had no great force of character, nor do their habits suggest dogged perseverance or innate combativeness. Their imaginations perhaps enabled them to see too well the results of warfare. They were clever and patient workmen, addicted to art, and probably some of the earliest to practise it, but, judged by our standards, they lacked repression and restraint. They were inclined to follow their inclinations, and were particularly taken with novelty. This love of the new which Caesar found among the Gauls is but a feature of the Eurafrian inhabitants of the land. Their powerful imaginations encouraged speculation and story-telling and laid the foundations of art and religion in Europe. The love of the vague and

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the mysterious which we have always associated with the Celtic spirit in literature and which re-blossomed in Romanticism is no Aryan thing, but an inheritance of this people. For most in our natures which partakes of the kindly, the imaginative, the sympathetic, the artistic, the impulsive, and for a large slice of our genius, we have to thank our long-headed ancestors from Africa.

SHORT HEADS VERSUS LONG

CHAPTER XVI

SHORT HEADS VERSUS LONG

Warum will sich Geschmack und Genie so selten vereinen ?
Jener fürchtet die Kraft, dieses verachtet den Zaum.

GOETHE.

THE foregoing examination of the characteristics of these comparatively pure representatives of the Mediterranean race should be useful in suggesting a clue to the greater race problem in Europe, how the brachycephals won the upper hand. Canon Taylor, in his "Origin of the Aryans," estimates that the number of the invaders could not have been more than a million, or at any rate that not more than that number spoke an Aryan tongue. How then can we account for the fact that Aryan languages now prevail throughout Europe and large portions of the globe as well? Canon Taylor suggests that the short-heads must have been superior in culture and in physical force. As regards the

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former quality I am unable to agree with him, nor is the suggestion in accordance with other portions of his book, as, for instance, when he maintains that the Aryans were but primitive in their religious ideas, that they had no common mythology, nor a common word for an idol. Physical force I will certainly grant him, for it has always been a characteristic of aristocracies. But from our better knowledge of the earlier people, their activities in art, their marvellous and highly modern palaces, the relics of which remain in Crete, their use and probable invention of writing, their definite religious notions and widely-spread mythology, we cannot relegate them to a place inferior to the Aryans in culture. No, surely the position is reversed, and the Aryan invasion meant something like what the combined Scotch and Roundhead regime entailed in England at the end of the Stuart period. The same breaking of relics, the same defacement of shrines, the same substitution of a hard and unlovely discipline for a former genial laxity was characteristic of this earlier and wider conquest. We gather from research in Italy and Greece that in these countries the invaders wormed their

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way in more by friendly arts than physical force, and only armed themselves when they had gathered sufficient strength. Accordingly the old customs and worship never died out there, but were adopted and modified by the new-comers. The old gods are renamed, but they remain essentially the same; hierarchies and orders are established among them, for the Aryan is nothing if not systematic and his religion is as orderly as his life. But the old spirit remained in a strong undercurrent, and when the overlords died out the old people are there, the same race, but a trifle altered by their manifold experiences. Yet "these rude barbarians, clad in skins, ignorant of agriculture and metals, unable to count above a hundred," as Canon Taylor describes them, what secret had they of enforcing their language, of asserting their superiority?

Possibly the clue is to be found in Crete. The palaces there are rambling and constructed without an eye to symmetry or order. Compare them with the Parthenon at Athens, or contrast the Cretan ladies with their low-necked bodices, their flounced petticoats, their waistbelts and tightly laced busts, with the classic repose and simple

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drapery of the Greek female figure, and I think the secret of the Aryans is obvious, and it may be summed up in one word, Control. On the one hand you have impulse and imagination running riot unchecked, on the other that reserve and constraint, that due regard to limitations, that simultaneous viewing of the whole and constraining its multifarious parts into unity, which is the very secret of art. The following sonnet of the great master who felt the two warring forces ever within him seems as if specially written to describe the ethnic character of the Aryans and the work given them to perform in the world.

NATUR UND KUNST

Natur und Kunst, sie scheinen sich zu fliehen
Und haben sich, eh man es denkt, gefunden ;
Der Widerwille ist auch mir verschwunden,
Und beide scheinen gleich mir anzuziehen.

Es gilt wohl nur ein redliches Bemühen !
Und wenn wir erst in abgemess'nen Stunden
Mit Geist und Fleisz uns an die Kunst gebunden,
Mag frei Natur im Herzen wieder glühen.

So ist's mit aller Bildung auch beschaffen ;
Vergebens werden ungebundne Geister
Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben.

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*Wer groszes will, muss sich zusammenraffen ;
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,
Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.*

This subordination of natural power to control and limitation is the secret of art as felt and recorded by Goethe, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and underlies the success of all masterpieces. How curious it is that in the country which has but recently undergone thorough regimentation and control, the land which might be pointed to as the crucial example of brachycephalic regime, we have the voice of "long-headed" genius expressing from experiences in the microcosm of his own soul the secret of the movement transforming the political world without him. With Frederick the Great Germany became unified, and later she became regimentalised. The older anomalies and divisions were wiped out and levelled up, and since that has been done genius has in some sense disappeared from Germany. Control is a negative force and by itself can arrive at no result. Regimentation means intellectual and artistic bankruptcy, but, applied to these exuberant people of the South, it gave just the touch that was wanted to arrive at perfection.

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The aristocracy alone could have given Athens no monuments, just as we find none in the martial stronghold of Sparta, but the good taste of Pericles acting upon the natural genius of the Pelasgians gave the world the most perfect masterpieces of all time. Control alone is barren ; few were the fruits of cruel Sparta, few are the masterpieces of unimaginative Rome, though she is peerless in her own domain as the teacher of law and order, the very embodiment of the spirit of control.

We have no need to rely on artistic evidence alone for the race distinctions in early Europe. The revolt of the market-place at Athens has already been alluded to, and a reference to the pages of "Primitive Paternity" afford us glimpses of another aspect of the struggle. It has been already suggested that the Aryans found a strong ally in the principle of father-right. As descent through the mother is the generally recognised principle in primitive peoples, it is probable that the adoption of father-right was to a certain extent fortuitous, entailed by the circumstances of a migrating horde. Man, the warrior, gained the mastery, and, as it became necessary to cope

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with the scarcity of females by means of a policy of which the rape of the Sabine women is an example, it can be well understood that woman could no longer hold her traditional position in the family, and she fell to the position of a chattel. Mr. Hartland makes a reference to ancient Sparta and recalls Polybius' statement as to the existence of polyandry there, and the custom of lending wives for the purpose of raising beautiful offspring. Aristotle speaks of the resistance offered by the Spartan women to Lycurgus when he attempted to put a stop to practices of this kind, and it is probable that the women prevailed, that is, a relic of matriarchy was permitted to continue in spite of Aryan opposition. There is also evidence of the existence of mother-right in Athens, and this met its opponent in the other law-giver, Solon, who curtailed the privileges. In both cases we seem to see the customs of the earlier Pelasgian population striving to uphold themselves against Aryan regime, and a more modern parallel is found in the policy of the Aryan Brahmans in India, as recorded by Mr. Hartland, to impose father-right on the non-Aryan proletariat. At Rome the stern

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patriarchal code was softened by the gradual absorption into itself of the *Jus Gentium*, the law of the conquered peoples, namely, the earlier dolichocephals, but the sterner rules regarding women have prevailed to the present day, and the modern outcry against the unfairness of the law of divorce and the unequal status of the female is but a belated protest against the man-made law of the Aryan aristocracy. It is not a little remarkable that the suffragist movement is contemporaneous with Home Rule proposals, with far-reaching arbitration schemes, and with socialistic propaganda which would present little novelty to our friends the Kabyles, and that all are contemporaneous with the activities of the so-called Celtic fringe, and with the tenure of office of a Welsh Chancellor of the Exchequer; Wales and Ireland are both strongholds of the dolichocephals. Possibly the animosities which have been aroused by recent political events have deeper roots than lie in mere party differences. Canon Taylor quotes Hamerton's "French and English" for a description of our gentry: "It is a strange result of the wealth and intelligence of the modern world to give the upper classes

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the pursuits of the savage, without the necessity which is the excuse for them. They are barbarians armed with the complicated appliances of civilisation. Their greatest glory is to have killed a large quantity of big wild beasts." "Field sports are good for keeping up the energy of semi-barbarous aristocracies." The spirit which swept over Europe with the coming of the Aryans is characterised by the warlike nature of the Spartans and the Romans, and those organised games which were the concomitant of, as well as the preparation for, war. If you visit Malta to-day you can behold a pantomime of the pursuits of the two races. The garrison element is primarily militant, but outside the daily business of life its only occupation is sport, and it has little or nothing to say to the problems around it. Its strict exclusiveness forms a strange contrast with the *bonhomie* and wider interests and sympathies of the cultured part of the Maltese. The latter, on the other hand, have but the most rudimentary ideas of outdoor sport. This was the contribution of our Aryan conquerors, and the mantle of Rome and Sparta has fallen upon our shoulders ; and though soldiers

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and sportsmen are not all brachycephals, they are nevertheless actuated by the brachycephalic spirit. The playing-field is the training-ground for the *exercitus*; there one learns self-control, and that co-ordination of the faculties which is one of the developed psychological accomplishments.

It is not intended to maintain that in England, where the long-heads and the short are mixed, the former are all proletariat and the latter aristocracy, for it is only too well known that a constant stream wells from the lower ranks into the upper. But, owing to our insular position, class ideas of a particular kind, once getting the upper hand, are liable to be more permanent than would be the case on the Continent, where there is naturally a freer interchange of thought and custom among communities varying to a large extent in these respects. With us the "new men" would always seek conciliation with the older aristocracy by adopting to a large extent their ideas and habits, and so, even though our upper classes may be mixed, the ideas of the original conquerors would be likely to prevail, as indeed we have seen that they do. "Good form" is the

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key-note of our society and a very permanent touchstone.

Narrow as these ideals may appear when viewed from a broadly cosmopolitan standpoint, they have nevertheless been indispensable in the shaping of our destinies, and, if now they be to some small extent anachronisms, we must still accord them the respect due for a definite end accomplished. Comparing the English with the relics of the Hamitic folk who still people the shores of the Mediterranean, we must certainly grant them the palm for efficiency. What they do they do well, often too well and permanently for the necessities of the case. Moreover, your aristocrat is no chafferer ; in money matters he refers you to his agent or his servants. He would rather trust your honour even at the risk of personal loss. One observes this spirit among the officers of our army and navy to-day ; they are no business men, and pride themselves on the fact. Yet this very uncommercial spirit must have had an enormous influence on our commercial system, which is built on the foundations of that same nonchalance and trustfulness. The true business keenness, combined with broad

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views which prevent the haggling over trifles, has been the making of a commercial people soaring far above the petty traffickings of more ingenious and hair-splitting communities. The new race has, moreover, been brave enough to be truthful and honest ; its people have had courage enough, physical and moral, to tell the truth and abide by the consequences, glorying in a bluntness which cares not for the regard of the commonalty. A race of aristocrats among a people they despised has set little store on the criticisms of the subjugated. Hence they are brusque, honest, and unsympathetic ; narrow in their views, narrow in their pride, which will see no good in any race but their own. In contrast to many continental peoples, prone to show upon the surface all that is in them, and in a naïve and natural manner parading their thoughts, feelings, accomplishments, and personal history, our upper classes put on their roughest exterior and have a secret pride in the concealment of their qualities. A county cricketer has a strange shyness about appearing off the field in flannels ; our legal luminaries are photographed as burly farmers ; our social brilliants pose as stablemen

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and our actors as motorists. Whatever you do, keep away from the "shop"!—restraint carried to the limits of absurdity, yet in a way admirable.

I met an interesting professor at Sorrento, and, after we had been watching some acting and dancing by the local talent, with much admiration for the aptitude displayed, he began to discourse on the nature of this Southern people, contrasting them with the English. He spoke of a friend who had been entrusted with the mission of comparing systems of education in various countries. The latter found that the Southern Italian boy, if asked an awkward question, at once delivered a long and interesting but totally irrelevant lecture, and on being asked pointblank to state what he knew about the subject, was obliged to confess that he knew nothing. With the English boy, on the other hand, there was a difficulty in getting him to put into words what he really did know, and it was often found that the apparently ignorant and stupid yet had a fair amount of knowledge in the subject. This is in a line with the traits discussed above, although we must admit that climate and atmosphere may have not a little to do with such differences.

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I have striven in crystallising these theories to check them by every means possible, and have made observations among my friends as regards the characteristics of the long and short-headed. I call to mind my longest-headed friend, now no longer living; a man of generous emotions and strong sympathies and antipathies, his fancy led him to lengths from which extrication was difficult, and his changeableness, dependent on his moods, made his conduct alarmingly inconsistent. Yet when once you knew him well he was the most lovable of men. Moreover, he was a genius and a poet. I have studied, too, a short-headed acquaintance with much interest; he has no pretensions to brilliance and never launches forth into enthusiasms or ecstasies. But he is perhaps the most punctual, conscientious, trustworthy person I know. He is above all things a safe man, and his greatest merit is his efficiency.

Nowadays we are accustomed to search for a material basis for every abstract phenomenon. Our emotions and our thoughts depend to a very large extent upon physical considerations, and it is not impossible that this difference of character in the two races may depend on a material

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factor. As far as we know, the main and vital difference between these peoples is the shape of the head, and, since the brain is the most important physical constituent of the human body, the shape of the head and of the brain may account for all or most of the differences we have been examining. Psychological knowledge is yet too undeveloped to say much with certainty as to the functions of the brain, but most authorities seem to be agreed on the importance of the convolutions which mark its surface. Deniker in his "Races of Man" is inclined to accept Flechsig's opinion that the most important parts of the brain in psychological processes are the centres of association, areas lying between the various motor and sensorial regions. It is in these that the differences in the amount of convolution differentiating the brains of a child, a monkey, a Bushman, and a man of science are the most remarkable. By means of these convolutions it is supposed that different functions of the brain can be put into contact, as in a telephonic exchange. "It is believed"—I quote Professor Deniker—"that certain cells of the grey substance only, the great and the little pyramidal

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shaped cells, are associated with the psychical functions, and that each of these, forming with its axis-cylinder, dendrons, and other branching prolongations what is called a *neuron*, is not in constant connection with, and does not occupy a fixed position once for all in regard to, other similar *neurons*, but may by means of its prolongations place itself in contact with a great number of these. Hence the complexity of the nervous currents resulting from these continual changes of contact. As from the same number of keys of a piano the tyro can produce only a few dissimilar sounds, while an artist elicits varied melodies, so from cerebral cells practically equal in number a savage is only able to extract vague and rudimentary ideas, while a thinker brings out of them intellectual treasures."

Applying this theory to our two shapes of brains, it seems probable that in a long, flat brain these numerous and complex connections could not take place so easily as in a round compact one, where the dendrons would be close enough to intergrapple generally. We could understand how, therefore, in the long-headed man an impulse could pursue its course with little or no

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check from other considerations. That is, the imagination could run riot, the impulses pursue their course, without being hampered so much as would be the case in the compacter brain by considerations of former results, possible consequences, or conflicting purposes. On this theory we could understand how a dolichocephal would spend infinite patience on a work without considering its use or how it fitted in with a general plan ; how he could devise to cheat his neighbour without duly considering how his neighbours would come in time to distrust and finally ostracise him ; how he could fabricate a complicated story without duly weighing how his hearer would regard it. If such a theory were justifiable almost the whole character of the long-heads could be explained by it. On the other hand, if the short-head had not imagination enough to devise anything great we might depend on his regarding as a whole and from every point of view the thing he set himself to do. He would do nothing very foolish, for any impulse would immediately be checked and corrected by being brought up suddenly against a conflicting idea ; the limitations of things would always be obvious

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to such a person. He would never make himself ridiculous, for his enthusiasm would be checked by ideas of propriety. His whole conduct might be summed up in the word "control"—in fact, your typical short-head is your so-called "long-headed" Scotchman, who is, after all, probably a brachycephalic Angle.

One hears much to-day about the relative merits of Celt and Saxon, when probably between Celt and Saxon there is little real difference—only that we don't find the Celt so pure as the Saxon. Usually he is a Hamite or half one. That generous fecundity of ideas which causes the Irishman to perpetuate a bull, the love of art and music that characterise both Irish and Welsh, the Hibernian impracticalness, impulsiveness, superstition, generosity; Shavianism, irresponsibility, impatience of restraint; *naïveté*, loveableness; enthusiasm, bohemianism, genius—these are no more Celtic than Saxon. They are an inheritance from the Mediterranean Race.

Just as Art reached her culmination at Athens through the harmonious blending of the two races, so too we may not unreasonably hold that a like circumstance may account for our own

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position in the world. In that Britain has attained to great power and is held to be a model in political organisation and efficiency, neither permitting the constraining elements to strangle individuality nor unbridled impulse to transgress the bounds of sanity, may we not put this too to the credit of that just intermingling of the long-head and the short which gave Athens her glory?

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